THE PADYĀVALĪ

An Anthology of Vaisṇava Verses in Sanskrit

Compiled by

SRI RŪPA GOSVĀMIN

Critically Edited by

Sushil Kumar De

2·S

THE PADYĀVALĪ

REPRODUCTION OF EARLIER EDITION OF THE PADYAVALI - AN ANTHOLOGY OF VAISNAVA VERSES IN SANSKRIT COMPILED BY RUPA GOSVAMIN AND CRITICALLY EDITED BY SUSHIL KUMAR DE

THE

PADYĀVALĪ

An Anthology of Vaiṣṇava Verses in Sanskrit

COMPILED BY

RŪPA GOSVĀMIN

A Disciple of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya of Bengal

CRITICALLY EDITED BY

SUSHIL KUMAR DE

of the University of Dacca

NAVRANG, NEW DELHI

1990

The publication has been brought out with financial assistance from Government of India, Ministry of Human Resources Development.

Dacca University Oriental Publication Series No. 3

First Published 1934
Reprint 1990
ISBN 81 7013 035-2
Price Rs. 45

Published by
Mrs. Nirmal Singal for Navrang
Booksellers and Publishers,
RB-7 Inderpuri, New Delhi 110012
Phones: 589914, 588571

Printed by
Diamond Printers, B-74 Phase II Naraina
Industrial Area, New Delhi 110028

पद्यावली

वैष्णवसुभाषितसंग्रहरूपा

श्रीरूपगोस्वामिपादसंकलिता

सुशील कुमार दे
इत्येतैः पाठान्तरादिभिरुस्कृत्य
सविमर्शं संशोधिता

नवदेहलीराजधानीतः

नवरंग

1990

TO

PROFESSOR F. W. THOMAS

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION



INTRODUCTION

The *Padyāvalī* of Rūpa Gosvāmin is in many respects a unique work of mediaeval Bengal. Apart from its value as one of the well-known anthologies of Sanskrit literature, its connexion with the Vaiṣṇava movement of Bengal gives it an added interest and importance. Its author, a scholar and devotee, was a well known disciple of Caitanya, the founder of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism; and as an authoritative teacher and exponent of its doctrines he became the centre of its arduous and prolonged theological and literary activity, and occupied the most commanding position in the later development of the sect as one of its six acknowledged law-givers. Though not concerned directly with dogmas and doctrines, his *Padyāvalī*, as an illustrative collection of devotional verses, has been cited with great respect among his other authoritative works.

One of the most important features of the Caitanya movement was its extraordinary literary energy. The power and vitality of its inspiration are evidenced by the vast literature it created for itself both in the learned classical tongue as well as in the living language of the province. The abundance, variety and spontaneity of this literature are amazing. On the

one hand, it poured itself lavishly in song and story in the vernacular, creating a new literary epoch by its fruitful contributions of great diversity and beauty; on the other, it enriched the field of Sanskrit scholarship and Sanskrit devotional literature by its more solid and laborious productions in theology, philosophy and ritualism, as well as by its luscious poetical outbursts in prose and verse.

The movement has thus permanently enshrined itself in the abundant and versatile literature it produced. In its earlier stages, with which we are directly concerned here, this literature expressed itself chiefly in Sanskrit, and took various forms. The ritualism and religious practices of the faith were codified in a huge compilation, entitled *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, attributed to Gopāla Bhaṭṭa; its theological presuppositions and esoteric doctrines were explained by Sanātana Gosvāmin in his learned commentary on the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* and his *Bṛhad-bhāgavatāmṛta*, to which his brother Rūpa Gosvāmin added a *Laghu-bhāgavatāmṛta*; its mystical-metaphysical dogmatics were set forth for the first time by Jīva Gosvāmin in his abstruse *Bhāgavata-sandarbha*, elaborated into six parts; and its fundamental theory of Bhakti as a Rasa and its essential emotionalism were laboriously expounded, in the true analytic spirit of the scholastic age, in the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu*

and the *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi* of Rūpa Gosvāmin. But the purely literary expression of this devotional movement, which exalted emotion over reason, is not the least important of its many features. Its earliest efforts in biography and narrative were represented by the Sanskrit works of Murāri Gupta, Svarūpa Dāmodara and Paramānanda-Sena Kavikarṇapūra, the last of whom also established its hagiology by his *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā.* Its emotional and poetical possibilities were expressed in a series of mystically impassioned stories, poems, dramas and campūs composed by Raghunātha Dāsa, Rūpa, Jīva and others. Its larger mass of resplendent Bengali songs and lyrics with their deeply passionate erotic mysticism, and its more voluminous narrative and biographical literature in Bengali form without doubt the most important and influential bulk of its literary productions, but its literary efforts in Sanskrit are by no means negligible. The religious revival must have supplied an emotional inflatus which produced wonderful results in vernacular poetry for more than a century, but it also led to a fervent expression of devout feelings even through the more difficult, but perhaps more rich, medium of Sanskrit. Apart from the regular dramatic and poetical works mentioned above, a large number of small verses and hymns must have been composed by a number of devotional writers.

These spiritual effusions of the devout heart may not always have attained a high level of artistic excellence, but they often have a touching and tender quality which is sometimes rare in an elaborate and studied masterpiece. The *Padyāvalī*, which gives an anthological survey of such Vaiṣṇava poems in Sanskrit, not only preserves these fleeting minor poems from oblivion but also furnishes important material for the study of this aspect of the movement.

In order to appreciate the full importance of the work, therefore, it will be necessary to take into account the essential features of the religious movement, of which it forms one of the striking literary expressions, and consider its intimate relation to the Vaiṣṇava ideas and sentiments. As the scope of this Introduction, however, is limited, it will not be possible for us to recapitulate, even briefly, the various aspects of this movement; but we can refer the reader for these details to the forthcoming work on Caitanyaism and the Caitanya movement by the present editor, which will deal not only with the early history of the movement but also with all the implications of its theology and philosophy, its Rasa-śāstra, its ritualism and devotional practices, as well as its varied literary expression in Sanskrit and Bengali verse. We shall content ourselves here with a brief and general account of the beginnings of the movement and the part played in it by Rūpa

Gosvāmin as well as by some other authors cited in this Anthology.[1]

Although Bengal Vaiṣṇavism is usually associated with the name of Caitanya, there can be no doubt that some form of Vaiṣṇavism obtained in Bengal long before the advent of Caitanya. But even if one can presume the diffusion of some kind of Vaiṣṇavite worship from the Gupta or Post-Gupta period, it is extremely difficult to determine the particular form it took. The recent discovery, however, of the image alleged to be that of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in the Paharpur excavations, as well as the emergence of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend in a finished literary form in the *Gīta-govinda* of Jayadeva makes it probable that Vaiṣṇavism in the particular form of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult had already obtained currency even a few centuries before Caitanya. It is not necessary for us to discuss here the character of this pre-Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal, but we have tried to show elsewhere[2] that the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* emotionalism, which had its most probable origin in Southern India and which was first definitely established in Bengal by Caitanya and his followers, is hardly evidenced

1 Much of what is written here is reproduced and adapted from the present editor's larger work on the subject which is mentioned above. All details as well as controversial matters are therefore omitted here.

2 We have briefly dealt with this question in an article contributed to the Winternitz Commemoration Volume.

by the Sanskrit *Gīta-govinda* of Jayadeva, as well as by the Bengali *Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrttana* of Caṇḍīdāsa ascribed to the 14th century.

The chief and almost exclusive scripture of Caitanyaism is the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, on whose devotional poetry and legend it bases its erotic emotionalism. Although Rādhā is not directly mentioned in this Purāṇa, Rādhā in the thought and worship of Caitanyaism occupies a very prominent place as an aspect of the highest attribute of infinite bliss (Hlādinī Śakti) ascribed to the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa, conceived as the Perfect Person and the highest object of adoration; and all the erotico-mystical possibilities of this devotional attitude are developed to their fullest extent in its Rasa-śāstra as well as in its theology. But this glorification of the Rādhā legend need not of itself connect Caitanyaism with the *Brahma-vaivarta* or other Purāṇas, which exalt this theme but which are not accepted as canonical by the Bengal school. Nor can any influence of the Nimbārka sect, which also gives a similar prominence to Rādhā-worship, be directly traced or presumed in it. The influence of the Śrī-sampradāya of Rāmānuja has no doubt considerably moulded the trend of some of its dualistic dogmas and doctrines, but direct affiliation with this sect is out of the question; while the Vallabhācārya sect was almost contemporaneous and could not have immediately influenced

Caitanyaism. There was a tendency in the later history of the Caitanya sect in the 18th century to affiliate it as a branch of the Mādhva-Saṃpradāya; but there is hardly any evidence to establish this as an original trend.[3] On the contrary, Caitanya himself is said to have discredited Mādhva doctrines of the Tattva-vādin Gurus at Udipi during his South Indian pilgrimage; while the six authoritative Gosvāmins of Caitanyaism do not anywhere acknowledge the Mādhvas as Pūrva-gurus.

It seems highly probable, on the other hand, that the Caitanya sect and its doctrines, like the other four mediaeval Vaiṣṇava sects and their doctrines, had an independent origin directly from the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* tradition. It also seems probable, as we have attempted to demonstrate elsewhere, that the way for its growth was prepared by the mystic emotionalism interpreted and established by a class of emotional Śaṅkarite Sannyāsins from the time of Śrīdhara, who attempted to combine the Advaita teachings of Śaṅkara with the emotionalism of the Bhāgavatas. It is true that into the complex texture of Caitanyaism, as shaped and formulated by the six Gosvāmins of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, were also woven ideas and sentiments from various other

3 See our article (in Bengali) on the Mādhva-sampradāya and the Caitanya-sampradāya in *Haraprasāda-saṃvardhana-lekha-mālā* (Calcutta, 1933), pt. ii..

non-vaiṣṇava sources (*e. g.* Tantra) which to some extent coloured its inherited Vaiṣṇava tradition; but to any one conversant with the history of Caitanyaism, as well as with its theology, philosophy and devotional practices, there can be no doubt that it ultimately based itself upon the implications of the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* as interpreted chiefly by Śrīdhara Svāmin. From the well known commentary of Śrīdhara on this work, as well as on the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* and the *Bhagavad-gītā*, it seems that about the time of Śrīdhara there must have grown a tendency to interpret and temper the severe monistic idealism of Advaita Vedānta with the devotional worship of a personal god. This can also be presumed from the fact that many a Śaṅkarite ascetic has implied in his teaching or practice that the stage of Advaita realisation can be reached through the devotional worship of a particular deity (like Nṛsiṃha or Kṛṣṇa) as a person or as a symbol of the Absolute. Śrīdhara himself was a worshipper of Nṛsiṃha, and devotion to such deities does not appear to have been thought inconsistent with one's belonging to the Śaṅkara Sampradāya. Śrīdhara in his commentaries therefore acknowledges Śaṅkara's teaching as authoritative, but considers Bhakti as the best means of Advaita Mukti. Whatever may be the value of this attempt at reconciling Jñāna and Bhakti, tradition alleges that Śrīdhara's

interpretation caused a great sensation in his Sampradāya, but that it ultimately came to prevail through divine intervention. It seems, therefore, probable that from his time a class of mystic-emotional Sannyāsins grew up, who found nothing in their practice of Bhakti which was inconsistent with their belief in Advaitism.

An Advaita Sannyāsin of this type must have been Viṣṇu Purī of Tirhut, whose devotional verses are cited in the *Padyāvalī*, but who is often mistakenly described as a Mādhva ascetic. His very title Purī indicates that he belonged to the Daśanāmī order of Śaṅkarite Sannyāsins ; and following the tradition of Śrīdhara, which he directly acknowledges in the closing verse of his work, he compiled a *Bhāgavata-bhakti-ratnāvalī* in which the finest devotional passages of the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* are selected and arranged in "thirteen strings" according to their subject matter. As such, Viṣṇu Purī is rightly regarded as one of the precursors of the Bhakti movement in Bengal in Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* (Ādi ix, 14). Mādhavendra Purī and his disciple Īśvara Purī, who are said to have influenced the early religious inclination of Caitanya but who are also mistakenly regarded by some modern writers as Mādhva ascetics, were also probably devotional Śaṅkarite Sannyāsins of the same type ; and the descriptions given of their religious attitude in the Bengali Vaiṣṇava works,

which however never call them Mādhva ascetics, fully bear out their emotional predilections. The historical evidences are strong enough to show that Caitanya himself, as Kavikarṇapūra tells us, was formally initiated into this Daśanāmī order of Śaṅkara Sannyāsins, even though the ultimate form he gave to Vaiṣṇava Bhakti had nothing to do with Śaṅkara's extreme Advaita-vāda. It is true that Caitanya's formal belonging to a particular Sampradāya hardly made any difference to his personal religious consciousness, that his own religious experiences made him go a long way into the extreme emotional attitude of Bhakti for which he is reported to have been ridiculed by the Advaita Sannyāsins of Benares, and that he himself rose superior to sombre and passionless asceticism; but it is highly probable that Keśava Bhāratī (an ascetic apparently of Śaṅkara's Bhāratī order), who was his Sannyāsa-Guru, and Īśvara Purī, who was his Dīkṣā-Guru, formally introduced him into this tradition of emotional Sannyāsa, which hardly stood in the way of his practice of extreme forms of emotional Bhakti. The roots, therefore, of the Bhakti movement, which Mādhavendra Purī is said to have started in Bengal and which Caitanya carried forward and definitely shaped, must be sought in such traditions as originated from Śrīdhara's great commentary on the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, which was accepted as

authoritative by the Bengal school. Apart from the fact that Sanātana, Rūpa and Jīva, the three great apologists of Caitanyaism, extensively quote and accept Śrīdhara's views in their own works, Caitanya himself is said to have possessed the highest veneration for Śrīdhara Svāmin ; and on one occasion he is said to have repudiated a commentary on the *Gītā* on the ground that it departed from Śrīdhara Svāmin's interpretation.

The apostle with whose name this early Bhakti movement is chiefly associated in the period immediately before Caitanya is the emotional Śaṅkarite ascetic, Mādhavendra Purī, of whom we have spoken above. Among his direct disciples is counted not only Īśvara Purī who gave the Daśākṣara Mantra to Caitanya at Gaya, but also Advaita Ācārya who was Caitanya's precursor as well as associate in the movement at Navadvīpa. The *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī* of Sanātana Gosvāmin states that the Kalpa-taru of Kṛṣṇa-bhakti-rasa was germinated by Mādhavendra in the three worlds ; the *Caitanya-bhāgavata* of Vṛndāvana-dāsa informs us that Mādhavendra was the *ādi-sūtradhāra* of Bhakti-rasa in Bengal ; the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* pays a similar compliment by speaking of him as the first sprout of the Kalpa-taru of Bhakti ; while Kavikarṇapūra in his *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā* distinctly says that Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal, with its doctrines

of Prīta, Preyas, Vatsala and Ujjvala Rasas, owes its origin to Mādhavendra. Caitanya himself never appears to have met Mādhavendra who must have died when he was in his boyhood, but he appears to have cherished a great reverence for this far-famed ascetic. At Puri, we are told, Caitanya used to recite with great emotion Mādhavendra's verse *ayi dīna dayārdra nātha he,* which is given in our Anthology No. 330. From the accounts left of him Mādhavendra appears to have been a devotee of great emotional capacity, who must have, before Caitanya, imparted a new spirit to the gloomy and forbidding aspects of asceticism, and who probably cared more for actual devotional fervour than for the teaching of dry doctrine. It is remarkable that in the references to Mādhavendra mentioned above, stress is laid upon his teaching of Bhakti as a religious emotion or Rasa ; and we also read in the various accounts given of him in these standard works of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism about his ecstatic emotions, visions and trances as striking features of his religious experience. He would, for instance, go into a mystic trance even at the sight of dark-blue clouds which became to him a symbol of the divine Kṛṣṇa. In all this he anticipated Caitanya himself and prepared the way for his advent. Fifty years before the Bengal Gosvāmins, he turned the thoughts of Bengal Vaiṣṇavas towards the sacred sites of Vṛndāvana where he is said to

have recovered an image of Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa and established a temple with two Bengali priests as custodians. In this also he anticipated the work of Caitanya and his disciples.

Mādhavendra's disciple, Īśvara Purī, deserves mention in this connexion, for a momentous meeting with him at Gaya is said to have formed a turning point in Caitanya's life. Īśvara Purī's original name before initiation into Sannyāsa is not known, but he is said to have been a Bengali, having been born at Kumārahaṭṭa (modern Halisahar, near Naihati) of Rāḍhīya Brahmin family. His father's name is given as Śyāmasundara Ācārya, but no other details of his life are known. He is said to have composed a *Śrīkṛṣṇa-līlāmṛta* in Sanskrit at the house of Gopīnātha Ācārya at Navadvīpa, and this work may or may not have been the same as the *Rukminī-svyaṃvara*, which is ascribed to Īśvara Purī by Rūpa Gosvāmin and from which two verses are quoted in the latter's *Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi*. In the *Padyāvalī* also some of Īśvara Purī's devotional verses have been selected. It is probable that in the course of his wanderings Īśvara Purī came very often to Navadvīpa. It is recorded that on one occasion he tried to win Caitanya, then a proud and light-hearted young scholar, to devout life; but Caitanya's only response to the attempt was to pick flaws in the grammar of the Sanskrit texts quoted

from Īśvara Purī's *Śrīkṛṣṇa-līlāmṛta*. Later on at Gaya, Caitanya received Mantra-dīkṣā from Īśvara Purī and came back a changed man. In later years Caitanya spoke of him with great reverence; and on one occasion when Caitanya was passing by Kumārahaṭṭa he is reported to have said that the very dust of the place which saw the birth of Īśvara Purī was to him dearer than life or wealth. Like Mādhavendra, Īśvara Purī was also an emotional mystic, who used to go into trances on hearing the Kīrtana of Kṛṣṇa's name.

The city Navadvīpa (modern Nadīyā), which witnessed the birth, youth and early manhood of Caitanya, was at that time a famous seat of mediaeval Sanskrit learning; but the kind of learning it favoured is typified by its production of a highly scholastic system of New Logic, called Navya Nyāya. It was and, still to a certain extent, is the stronghold of orthodox Brahmanism as well as of neo-Tāntrikism, and produced a stringent social dictator like Raghunandana as well as a champion of obscure Tāntrik rites like Kṛṣṇānanda. Its great reputation for Sanskrit scholarship and orthodoxy drew students from all parts of the country, but it possessed an arid and intellectual atmosphere, highly materialistic, narrow, proud and even sceptical. Vedāntism formed the topic of conversation of the cultured few, who looked down upon the

emotional abandon of Bhakti as weak and vulgar; while the self-satisfied formalism of the orthodox Smārta system, which prescribed religious merit and absolving efficacy to a somewhat mechanical observance of fixed duties and ceremonies, hardly encouraged any exhibition of personal devotional fervour or any inner sensibility for morality or religion. But there also existed in the city a devout Vaiṣṇava community, although it was neither a large nor an important group. Dissatisfied with their unspiritual surroundings this religious group used to meet in certain houses to hold religious discourses, to listen to the reading of the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* and to satisfy their spiritual longings by an enthusiastic singing of the praises of Śrīkṛṣṇa. This small community must have been inspired and encouraged in its Vaiṣṇava tendencies by Mādhavendra Purī and his disciples, for we find that the most commanding figure in this group, before Caitanya, was a disciple of Mādhavendra, named Kamalākṣa Bhaṭṭācarya, better known by his other name of Advaita Ācārya. He was an elderly Brahmin scholar of Śāntipur, more than fifty years senior to Caitanya, and lived for the most part at Navadvīpa, being held in high esteem for his scholarly Vedāntic attainments, pious life and sincere devotion. His original home, like that of Caitanya's father, was Sylhet (in Assam), and he was apparently a friend of the family, whom Caitanya's mother

accused of having led her two sons to asceticism. Although originally a believer in the emotionally tempered Jñāna-mārga, Advaita Ācārya very early recognised the power and fell under the spell of Caitanya's rapturous devotion, and a close relationship sprang up between the pious old man and the young religious enthusiast. Advaita seems to have very closely identified himself with the new movement, and attained such an eminent position in it that he came to be regarded in the later history of the sect as one of the blessed trio of the new faith, although the six Gosvāmins of Caitanyaism in the earlier stages of its history do not recognise him as such. It is recorded piously in the later Bengali works of the sect that Advaita was an Avatāra of Śiva, who preceded and thus made possible the descent of Caitanya into the world by means of his fervent prayer and appeal. Whatever may be the value of this pious belief, there can be no doubt that in spite of his Advaita-Vedāntic scholarship, which justified his title, Advaita was the precursor of the devotional Vaiṣṇava tendency which later on took definite shape as Caitanyaism; and the small band of devout men who gathered round him formed the nucleus of the new movement.

In the midst of such surroundings Caitanya was born and passed his younger days. The story of his life, meagre though it is in striking external incidents, has been told so often and so

well that it is not necessary for us to enlarge upon it in detail, or linger over the scenes of devotional ecstasy, madness and miracles, which swell the bulk of his extant authoritative lives in Sanskrit and Bengali. The abundant fancies, no doubt, envelop the few facts, but even in the orthodox pictures where the colours are often laid too thickly, a forceful religious personality emerges which is not lacking in great human interest and appeal.

Caitanya was born on the Phālguna Paurṇamāsī day in Śaka 1407 (February 1485 A.D.), and was given the name of Viśvambhara. His father Jagannātha Miśra (with the surname Purandara), originally an inhabitant of Sylhet in Assam, who had migrated and settled in the academic city of Navadvīpa, was a pious and scholarly Brahmin of devout Vaiṣṇava tendencies, and apears to have been a Rāma-worshipper ; while his mother Śacī Devī was a deeply religious and sensible woman who bore the loneliness of her closing years with great patience and resignation. Viśvambhara having been the only surviving child born in their old age, it is only natural that the fond parents should lavish all the wealth of their affection on this pretty boy, whom pitying affection nicknamed Nimāi, but whose personal charm and beauty earned the epithet of Gaura or Gaurānga. Although he grew up as a privileged child in the midst of all the social advan-

tages of well-born Brahminhood, he appears to have received the education befitting an intelligent and well-placed Brahmin boy at such a centre of learning as Navadvīpa. His studies, however, appear to have been chiefly confined to Sanskrit Grammar, especially Kalāpa Grammar, and possibly to some literature and rhetoric to which allusion is made. If he became pert and pretentious, he only imbibed the spirit of the time and the place, but it also indicates an exuberant, healthy and light-hearted youth. While he was still a student, his father died and the burden of the household fell upon his young shoulders. Soon after he married Lakṣmī, daughter of one Vallabha Ācārya, a Navadvīpa Pundit, became a householder, set up a Sanskrit school like most educated Brahmins of the day and received pupils. In order to acquire wealth he undertook a tour in East Bengal and received gratifying gifts from pious householders. During his absence his young wife Lakṣmī, whom he is said to have married out of love at first sight and who is depicted as an ideal wife and daughter-in-law, died of snake-bite. On his return he took the news with great calmness. He was married again to Viṣṇupriyā, daughter of a Navadvīpa Pundit Sanātana Miśra, but his conjugal life did not last long. It is probable that his first wife held a unique place in his affection, and in spite of his second marriage the

shock of her death had something to do with his Sannyāsa which occurred not many years later.

As yet the young Pundit, busy with his scholarly and domestic duties, showed no open sensibility to the religious influences which surrounded him, but very soon a great change came over his life and swept him off with its overwhelming force. This occurred during his pilgrimage to Gaya where, as a dutiful son, he had gone to perform the Śrāddha ceremony of his father. What exactly happened there is not known, but the hidden springs of his religious emotion must have been very deeply stirred. His biographers emphasise that the principal factor in his transformation was his meeting with Īśvara Purī, the emotional ascetic, who had on a previous occasion tried fruitlessly to win him over to devout life, but who was now voluntarily accepted as a spiritual guide. Īśvara Purī gave him a Mantra of ten syllables, but the sudden religious awakening in him could hardly be satisfied by such formal initiation. Of the intensity and transforming quality of his religious experience there can be no doubt ; and however much the religious surroundings of the holy place and the personality of Īśvara Purī may have influenced it, it must have been deep-seated and spontaneous. His pride of learning was humbled ; his love of finery and care of personal appearance, to which

frequent allusions are made by his biographers, were gone ; scholastic pursuits and worldly concerns lost their interest. He had seen one of those mystic visions which turn secularly minded men into god-intoxicated devotees. People said he came back a mad man, and he certainly behaved as such. When he taught his pupils, the subject of his discourse was Kṛṣṇa, and very soon he had to close his school. Wrapped in mystic and emotional experience, he laughed and wept, raved in abstraction, incessantly shouted Kṛṣṇa's name, and went into those mystic trances which from now became a striking feature of his religious experience.

The change in him became the talk of the town and a matter of concern to his relatives; but the small group of Vaiṣṇava devotees, headed by Advaita, saw in him something more than symptoms of lunacy and welcomed him with hope and joy. Very soon he was joined by Nityānanda, who was eight years senior to him and had been for many years a wandering Avadhūta ascetic, but who was now destined to play, along with Caitanya, an important part in the history of the movement. Supported by Advaita and Nityānanda, Viśvambhara became the centre of the devout Vaiṣṇava group in the city and came to be regarded as the very incarnation of their spirit of devotion. His extraordinary capacity for religious emotion had the power of evoking

similar emotion in others, and the very reality of his spiritual experience and the irresistible charm of his gifted personality soon made him the natural leader of the group. One of his first and most important acts was the stimulation, if not the actual introduction, of an emotional mode of musical worship, known as Saṅkīrtana, in the daily devotional meetings which were held in the courtyard of Śrīvāsa's house at Navadvīpa. This soon expanded into Kīrtana processions (Nagara-Kīrtana) which were organised to parade the streets with lusty music, singing and dancing and to carry and spread the contagion of Bhakti from door to door.

But the proud scholar and the self-satisfied e'lite of the city, who formed a large and influential section of society, looked upon this uproarious movement as a public nuisance, and their initial attitude of indifference, now transformed into one of active opposition, proved a a great obstacle to the movement. Viśvambhara at last resolved to win over these unbelievers by severing all local ties and embracing the universally honoured life of a Sannyāsin, although the deeper reason for this step must have been his innate predilection to asceticism, as well as the impatient inward urge of passionate devotion for completely abandoning self to the service of his deity. He was therefore initiated privately by Keśava Bhāratī at Katwa, a town on the other

side of the Ganges, in the month of Māgha in Śaka 1431 (=January 1509 A.D.), when he was barely twentyfour years of age, and was given the Sannyāsa name of Śrīkṛṣṇa-Caitanya, usually abbreviated into his universally accepted name of Caitanya. Keśava Bhāratī lived at Katwa, but as there was little personal intercourse between him and Caitanya he does not appear in any way to have spiritually influenced his disciple either before or after the initiation. The particular Bhāratī order of Śaṅkara which Caitanya joined made as little difference to his inward religious consciousness, as even his very act of becoming a Sannyāsin itself. Although in matters of personal purity and self-denial he kept to his ascetic vow, he never strictly conformed to the severe passionless life of an Indian ascetic, to which he imparted a new spirit by his emotional faith in a personal god. He thus went far beyond his ascetic teachers in matters of belief and practice.

Caitanya now resolved to go to Vṛndāvana in order to realise his devotional fancy of reclaiming and founding a religious colony at the sacred sites associated with the name of Kṛṣṇa ; but he yielded to the entreaties of his lonely mother to reside permanently at Puri where his friends and followers could visit him frequently and whence pilgrims would often bring news of him.

Although a close connexion was kept up between the Master and his followers in Bengal by means of an annual visit paid by the latter, Caitanya's departure must have been a great loss to a cause which had hardly had time yet to establish itself firmly. The later disruption of the sect, the organisation of which was left in the hands of Nityānanda, was partly due to this lack of direct contact with the Master whose personality was not only the greatest asset of the community but also the only powerful influence which could unify and organise it into a compact body. The first short stay at Puri was marked by the important incident of the conversion of a famous Vedāntist, named Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya, some of whose devotional verses are given in the *Padyāvalī*. He is said to have been a Navadvīpa scholar born about the middle of the 15th century. He was much older than Caitanya whose maternal grandfather Nīlāmbara Cakravartin is said to have been a friend of Vāsudeva's father, Maheśvara Viśārada. Tradition delights to make a great academic figure of Vāsudeva, but there is no doubt about his Vedāntic scholarship from his still available works.[4] The conversion of this great scholar from the confirmed Vedāntic convictions of a life-time must have been a notable

4 For informations regarding Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, see our Bibliographical Notes.

and significant triumph for the young Sannyāsin almost at the outset of his religious career. It was an important achievement because nothing like this had happened before. It is not difficult to understand the impression Caitanya had made on the rank and file of his Navadvīpa followers and their exuberant adoration of him. After he had accepted the traditional sanctity of the ascetic ideal and turned his face towards Puri, this adoration naturally deepened. Both distance and cherished memories of his wonderful devotion had actually deified him in their eyes as soon as he left Navadvīpa, and rapidly created a mass of pious legends which to-day obscure his real religious personality. But in a veteran logician and Vedāntist like Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma one would expect a less susceptible and more alert mind, although it must be admitted that the renowned scholar was at that time already much advanced in years. There can be no doubt, however, that his rationalistic mind must have found something real and arresting in the religious attitude of Caitanya, and recognising its power and intensity he quickly fell under its mystic spell. Sārvabhauma was held in great esteem at Puri, and it was this conversion, as well as the actual sight of Caitanya's ecstatic devotion, which awakened the curiosity and homage of Gajapati Pratāparudra, ruler of Orissa and assured the future of

Caitanyaism in that province, although there is no satisfactory evidence to show that Pratāparudra was actually converted into the new faith.

After a few months' stay at Puri, Caitanya started on a long and extensive pilgrimage to southern and western India which occupied a little less than two years ; but as this pilgrimage was hardly productive of any deep and lasting results regarding the spread of Caitanyaism, it is not necessary for us to trace the course of his wanderings in detail. His orthodox biographers, however, make much of his meeting with a scholarly and devout Vaiṣṇava, named Rāmānanda Rāya, near Rajamundry on the Godavari. Rāmānanda is described as a Śiṣya of Rāghavendra Purī and a Pra-śiṣya of Mādhavendra. Rāmānanda's father Bhavānanda Rāya was probably a local chief, feudatory to Gajapati Pratāparudra ; and Rāmānanda himself held some high official position under this prince of Orissa. Rāmānanda composed an operatic drama (*saṅgīta-nāṭaka* as he calls it) on Kṛṣṇa-līlā, containing a glorification of Rādhā and songs on the model of Jayadeva. It was entitled *Jagannātha-vallabha,* and was enacted at the direction of Pratāparudra. The theological significance of the meeting with this devout scholar has been emphasised by Caitanya's biographers, but it is not necessary for us to dwell on it. It is, however, possible that the influence

of Rāmānanda operated in the way in which Rādhā came to occupy a prominent place in the thoughts and sentiments of Caitanya.

The rather uneventful course of Caitanya's life of worship and ecstasy which began at Puri after his return from this long journey was during the many years he settled there broken twice in order to realise his long-cherished desire of visiting Vṛndāvana, the holy centre of Kṛṣṇa-līlā. The recovery of the sacred sites of Vṛndāvana by the followers of Caitanya and its erection into one of the chief religious centres of Northern India form one of the most interesting events in the history of mediaeval Vaiṣṇavism; for the modern Vṛndāvana, eclipsing to-day the glory of the adjacent city of Mathurā by its fine temples, groves, seminaries and bathing ghats, is the creation chiefly of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism. The inspiration originated probably from Mādhavendra Purī, but it culminated in the constructive enthusiasm of Caitanya and his disciples. The sacred Vṛndāvana, with its romantic associations of the Kṛṣṇa-Gopī legend, must have charmed the devotional fancy of Caitanya; but since the place had been long neglected even by Kṛṣṇa-worshippers, Caitanya had at an early stage of his career selected Lokanātha Ācārya, once his schoolmate and later on his disciple, and entrusted him with the mission of reclaiming the holy city which was

then lying desolate. The site of the old mythical Vṛndāvana is perhaps lost, like that of the old mythical Mathurā, but the present sacred sites were identified by the disciples of Caitanya, and a new city was built up as their seminary and their stronghold and was invested with a new sanctity and glory.

On his way to the newly restored Vṛndāvana Caitanya passed through Bengal, but the journey never extended beyond Rāmakeli, near Gauḍa, the ancient capital of North Bengal. At this place an incident occurred which came to possess a deep significance in the later history of the cult. Here Caitanya met and won over two scholarly brothers who, with their nephew, were destined to become the acknowledged theologians of the faith and thus play an important part in its future development. They were two gifted men of pious inclinations descended from Karṇāṭa Brahmins, who had settled for some generations in Bengal. They were employed at that time as high officials at the Court of Allauddin Hussain Shah at Gauḍa. They were enthralled by Caitanya's deep faith, became his followers, and ultimately abandoned wealth and eminence for the ascetic and scholarly life of a Vṛndāvana Gosvāmin. Caitanya gave them new names, Sanātana and Rūpa, by which they are better known. He directed them later on to make Vṛndāvana the academic as well as the religious centre of the new faith and produce

in Sanskrit the entire body of theological, philosophical and emotional literature for the sect. The works they produced under Caitanya's inspiration have ever since formed the most authoritative foundations of the cult.

The journey to Vṛndāvana having been interrupted, Caitanya returned to Puri; but soon after he set out once more and realised his object. His nothern tour was not as extensive as his southern and western pilgrimage, and it is not necessary for us to linger over it. On his way back he spent a few days at Prayāga (Allahabad) during the great bathing festival (Kumbha-melā) and met a few saintly ascetics and scholars, among whom may be mentioned Raghupati Upādhyāya, a Vaiṣṇava scholar of Tirhut, some of whose devotional verses are given in the *Padyāvalī.* Caitanya was also joined here by one of his two new Bengal recruits, Rūpa Gosvāmin, who had now, with his younger brother Anupama (*alias* Vallabha), left home to follow him. Rūpa's elder brother Sanātana was delayed by a short spell of imprisonment into which the jealous Sultan of Gauḍa had thrown him, but he came and joined the party later on at Benares. At Benares, as well as at Puri, Caitanya is represented by one of his orthodox biographers as giving elaborate Śāstric instructions to Rūpa and Sanātana in the dogmas and doctrines of the faith, but the six long

chapters of the biography, which are devoted to this detailed theological exposition placed in the mouth of Caitanya, consist of nothing more than a direct summary, with free quotations, of the learned works which the two brothers composed later on after the passing away of Caitanya. The works themselves of these scholarly devotees prove the extensive learning of a life-time, and it is unbelievable that they could have thus learnt them in all their details by only a few months' instruction. The *Bhakti-ratnākara* speaks of their stupendous Śāstric knowledge even before they accepted Caitanyaism, and this is probably one of the reasons why Caitanya selected them for the special work of producing all the Śāstras of the new faith.

After returning from the pilgrimage Caitanya settled permanently at Puri at about Śaka 1430 (=1517 A. D.), and with a chosen few of his disciples about him passed the remaining sixteen years in a comparatively uneventful life of daily worship and adoration. The monotony was broken by the annual exodus of his Bengal disciples, as well as by occasional visits of scholars, devotees and admirers. The history of this period of Caitanya's life is made up of these small incidents, as well as by the description of his religious ecstasies. His emotions grew in intensity and became characterised by excesses of stupor, trances and frenzied energy, verging

upon hysteria and dementia. To the faithful the closing years of his life consist of an orgy of devotional passion, of an exclusive madness of divine love (Premonmāda). Day by day he became incapable of taking care of himself, but he was watched and tended with loving solicitude by Svarūpa Dāmodara and other intimate disciples. His prolonged emotional experiences of religious frenzy must have made extraordinary demands on his highly wrought nervous system, and brought on exhaustion and constant fits of seizure. Under this increasing strain of an almost impossible emotionalism his physical frame broke down, and he passed away in Āṣāḍha, Śaka 1455 (=June-July, 1533 A.D.).

Although Caitanya possessed the great quality of leadership and extraordinary power over the minds of men, he does not appear at any time of his career to have concerned himself directly with the organisation of his followers. Absorbed in his ecstasies he hardly ever sought to build up a cult or a sect. If such a cult or sect gathered itself round him, it was due to the charm of his personality and the powerful appeal of his devotional faith. The enthusiasm of some of his more practical or more scholastically inclined disciples would rather see in him a great organiser and theological expounder of a system, but neither propagating zeal nor theological ambition ever entered his simple life of intense

devotion. If some notable conversions were achieved, they are hardly the result of any direct missionary effort on his part ; but, as the orthodox records themselves indicate, they were due to the powerful impression he could create on receptive minds by his outstanding religious personality. Even admitting that he could employ philosophy or theology as a weapon in argument, it was yet his intimate and vivid sense of spiritual truth which cast a mystic spell and called forth a deep and lasting response. This wonderful spiritual influence could enthrall men of great capacity and inspire them with a life-long zeal for sectarian pioneering, laborious scholarship and devotional austerity; but to attribute this achievement to any conscious effort or purpose is to misread the whole trend of his life.

The later development of the sect and the cult, therefore, is chiefly the work of his disciples and associates. At the same time, one must guard against the error of supposing that the cult and the sect were entirely created by his followers to whom Caitanya was a mere figure-head or a willing instrument. Caitanya's personal relation to his leading disciples, as borne out by the orthodox records, clearly demonstrate that on the main lines of its growth and expansion the movement was directly inspired by the example of his life and experience, even if he did not actually persevere at the task. If he possessd the

capacity, he never had in his emotional absorption either the time or the willingness to found a sect or a system ; but from the very beginning the movement bore the impress of his personality and developed on the lines of his spiritual experiences, which formed its greatest and most powerful asset. This was the driving force by which the movement organised and propagated itself during his life-time, and which inspired his leading disciples to organise and propagate it after his passing away. As such this was his highest contribution to the sect and the cult. The standard of Vaiṣṇava life and devotion set up by his own life, the new spirit of emotionalism which he imparted to traditional piety, the widespread emotional appeal of the new mode of Saṅkīrtana which he developed, the sincerity and contagious passion of his realisation of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult, the expansive and liberating power of his catholic and simple ideas of worship, his devotional fancies about the Vṛndāvana settlement, his winning over of scholars and devotees who were to be the future organisers of the sect both on its practical and doctrinal sides and his inspiring them with a selfless love for the task,—in one word, his great religious life and personality clearly gave an initial direction and an impetus to the movement, which gradually organised itself in the hands of his followers into a definite sect and cult.

If Caitanya did not concern himself actively in the work of organising his followers, which was left mostly in the hands of Advaita and Nityānanda, still less did he take upon himself the work of a thinker or writer. However much intellectual pride he is reported to have possessed in his youth, he gave up his scholastic pursuits after his return from Gayạ. A man of his great emotional capacity was hardly ever fit for serious or sustained intellectual effort, for which he never showed any particular bent, and which became more and more impossible as years went on. To a man of his temperament spiritual realisation was hardly a matter of speculative discussion. In spite of the fact that some of his scholastic biographers delight to depict Caitanya as a trained theorist expounding with precision a whole theological system and invest him with the omniscience of a Śāstric Pandit, they also indicate that in his ecstatic absorption he was careless of mere Śāstric knowledge. The theology that is placed in his mouth is clearly the theology of a later day, in which these biographers themselves were severely trained. It must not also be forgotten that the significance of Caitanya's teaching, like the teaching of all great teachers, lies not so much in his special interpretation of this or that text, but in the reality and force of his inner spiritual experience, which gave him an extraordinary

power over the minds of men. The whole trend indeed of Caitanya's life was against his being an exact scholar or thinker. When Caitanya closed his school after his return from Gaya he is reported to have shut up his books and said to his pupils that for him lessons were finished from that day. The words became almost literally prophetic, for in after-years he hardly ever opened a book for serious study and hardly ever wrote anything. The scholarly pursuits of a Pandit, the pride of learning or the zest for dialectic disputations—all passed out of his life, which now began to move in an entirely different atmosphere. Outside the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata,* the newly discovered *Brahma-saṃhitā* and the devotional lyrics of Bilvamaṅgala, Jayadeva, Vidyāpati or Caṇḍīdāsa he appears to have read next to nothing. It is misdirected zeal which invests him with the false glory of scholastic eminence; his true greatness lies in other directions and his power over men came from other sources.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Caitanya wrote nothing with the exception of eight Sanskrit verses which are given as the *Śikṣāṣṭaka,* and which are nothing more than expressions of his simple and passionate faith. All these eight verses are to be found under his name (cited as Śrī-bhagavataḥ) in the *Padyāvalī.* Kavikarṇapūra in his *Caitanya-candrodaya* appears to negative the idea that Caitanya ever

wrote anything about his doctrines. The attribution to him, therefore, of any specific work or specific doctrine is more a matter of pious belief than a positive historical fact. It is indeed difficult to say how much of the elaborate theologising which is piously put in his mouth was actually uttered by him, for these reported utterances of his are in fact faithful summaries of the highly scholastic works of the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins themselves, who as leisured recluses could devote their keen and highly trained minds to the construction of elaborate systems of speculation. It is not clear, therefore, how far these tenets of a later time actually represent Caitanya's views. No doubt, Caitanya is represented as commissioning Sanātana and Rūpa to prepare these learned texts as the doctrinal foundations of the faith and suggesting to them elaborate outlines and schemes; but these outlines and schemes are so suspiciously faithful to the actual and much later products of the Gosvāmins themselves that this fact takes away whatever truth there might have been in the representation. That some such relation actually existed between the Master and his learned disciples is highly probable, but excessive zeal has represented it in a distorted perspective. It is also remarkable that while these Gosvāmins themselves make a general acknowledgment of the inspiration derived from Caitanya and his life,

there is nowhere any acknowledgment of direct instruction or outlining of schemes to them by Caitanya. The actual personal contact of Rūpa and Sanātana with the Master was indeed very brief, while there is no evidence to show that Jīva, their nephew, ever had this good fortune. It is hard to believe that within the period of a few months at the most, they could have been instructed by Caitanya, as alleged, in the whole range and depth of the Bhakti-śāstra and in every such detail of doctrine as they set it forth in their elaborate and voluminous work. It is certainly true that Caitanya inspired these men of great talent with a life-long zeal for the task, which made them scorn delight and live laborious days ; he might have also suggested to them his own ideas of devotion born out of his own religious experience ; and above all, his life itself must have furnished them a vivid text to enlarge and comment upon. But to hold Caitanya responsible for every fine point of dogma and doctrine elaborated by Sanātana, Rūpa and Jīva would indicate an undoubtedly pious but entirely unhistorical imagination.

It is worth remarking in this connexion that although Bengal Vaiṣṇavism presents itself as a deliberate historical religion promulgated by a definite founder, yet in the practical working out of the system the direct intuitive realisation or teachings of the founder do not expressly find a

place. Except the usual obeisance and homage to Caitanya and general passages testifying to his identity with the supreme deity, there is nowhere in the extensive works of the three early authoritative Gosvāmins (Rūpa, Sanātana and Jīva) any direct reference to his personal views and teachings. These theologians and philosophers are chiefly concerned with the godhead of Kṛṣṇa and his Līlā as revealed in the older scriptures ; and Kṛṣṇa in their theory, as we shall presently see, is not an Avatāra but the supreme deity himself. They are almost entirely silent about Caitanya-līlā and its place in their devotional scheme, and it is somewhat strange that in presenting a system in Caitanya's name they rely exclusively upon older sources and do not refer at all to his direct realisation of spiritual truths. The divinity of Kṛṣṇa as the exclusive object of worship is elaborately established, but the divinity of Caitanya, which is implicitly acknowledged in the Namaskriyās and miscellaneous devotional verses, is hardly ever discussed. It is said in the later Bengali biogrophies of Caitanya that these works themselves were not only inspired but were directly communicated to these disciples by Caitanya himself. It may have been so, but there is no direct acknowledgment of this fact by the Gosvāmins themselves ; and what appears to have been communicated (if we take the texts themselves as evidence) is not his own Anubhava but elaborate

scholastic systems based on and developed from inherited Vaiṣṇava tradition. Nor is there any devotional interpretation of the personality of Caitanya and Caitanya-līlā as there is of the personality of Kṛṣṇa and Kṛṣṇa-līlā. There can be no doubt that the devout life of Caitanya inspired these faithful disciples, but in the actual building up of their systems of philosophy and theology, there is no reference to the life, personality or views of the Master himself. There is, on the other hand, an entire dependence on a complicated system of interpretation of older sacred texts, rather than upon any direct and vivid spiritual illumination. In these works of the Gosvāmins we reach indeed a high level of the emotional doctrine of Bhakti in the setting of a vital system of religious beliefs, and the life and personality of Caitanya must have been a powerful exemplification of these beliefs and doctrines, but we still move in an indefinite haze of mythology, sentiment and speculation derived from the Purāṇic tradition ; while the intellectual seriousness or the ethical nobility of the tenets is hardly propounded with the force of direct realisation, inasmuch as they are completely merged in a floating mass of uncertain myths, legends and traditional beliefs. In all probability Caitanya himself never claimed any divine honours, but the piety of his devout followers exalted him as such, making him an incarnation

not only of Kṛṣṇa but also of Rādhā ; but it is remarkable that this doctrine of single or double incarnation is nowhere discussed by the six authoritative Gosvāmins. Nor do they anywhere recognise or inculcate as a creed the worship of Caitanya or his image, although this became a notable feature of the later development of the faith.

Whatever might have been the case, the fact remains that Caitanya never thought it necessary to emulate the founders of other Vaiṣṇava Sampradāyas in the writing of religious or speculative works himself, nor did he care much about putting together all that he taught and practised. He left his life and personality as a shining example of devotion and as his best legacy to his followers. On his immediate and intimate disciples, therefore, fell the laborious task of systematising the doctrines and practices of the faith and defining its creed. How much of these is Caitanya's and how much their own will perhaps never be known ; but it is probable that much of them, written within a few years after his death, was directly inspired by his personal example and teaching. Upon the two brothers, Sanātana and Rūpa, Caitanya himself is said to have imposed the special task of expressing its theology and its Rasa-śāstra, in which they were very materially reinforced later on by the mystical-metaphysical scholarship of their nephew Jīva. They were men of great literary

and Śāstric talent, acute theologians and passionate poets, as well as ascetic devotees of exemplary lives. Their commanding position as the fit and chosen disciples, instructed and commissioned for the exacting task, their austere and saintly character, their selfless devotion to the cause, and their laborious and life-long scholarly activities gave them a unique influence as the three authoritative Gosvāmins or teachers of the faith. As such, they had been held in the highest veneration throughout the whole history of the sect. With them was closely associated Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, a South Indian Brahmin, whose name and attainments are held in almost equal esteem. His chief task appears to have been the codification, probably in collaboration with Sanātana, of the social and religious practices of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism in a voluminous compilation which forms the most authoritative ritualistic text of the cult. To these four Gosvāmins were added Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa who does not appear to have written anything but whose interpretation of the *Bhāgavata* is highly praised, and Raghunātha Dāsa, whose passionate devotional sensibility expressed itself in a Sanskrit Kāvya of the Campū type on Kṛṣṇa-līlā and in a series of fervent Sanskrit Stotras and Bengali lyrics on the same erotico-mystic theme.[5]

[5] Some of Raghunātha Dāsa's, verses are given in the *Padyāvalī*. Sanātana's verses are quoted with the ascription Śrīmat-prabhoḥ. We

These were the six Gosvāmins to whom belongs the credit of working out and defining, after Caitanya's death, the whole system of tenets and practices peculiar to Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, and determining its doctrinal trend which, however modified and supplemented in later times, dominated throughout its later history. It was also their inspiration which led to the writing by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, who was their disciple, of the most learned standard biography of Caitanya in Bengali ; and it was their approval which gave the stamp of orthodox authority not only to this but also to the earlier and no less important Bengali biography composed by Vṛndāvana-dāsa. The six Gosvāmins lived at Vṛndāvana at about the same period of time, and to them is due the building up of modern Vṛndāvana as the chief intellectual and religious centre of the sect, where its theology, its philosophy, its ritualism and its Rasa-śāstra were created. They reclaimed the sacred sites, identified them, and gave to each a distinctive name ; they made their wealthy disciples and admirers build the great temples, groves and bathing places, and laid the foundation of its modern glory and sanctity. It was indeed their eminence and influence which gave marked primacy to the Bengal school over other rival schools in the holy city associated with the name of Kṛṣṇa.

have only one verse assigned to Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, but see our Bibliographical note on Dākṣiṇātya.

Not much is known about the details of their lives, but most of their works have survived. Without exception they adopted Sanskrit as the medium of expression, so that in the first stage of the Caitanya movement, Sanskrit works in prose and verse form its most authoritative and original sources. The adoption of the almost obsolete and pedantic classical language was probably prompted by the idea of the sanctity and authority attached to the learned Deva-bhāṣā as befitting their classical works. But perhaps there was also the temptation of appealing to a larger learned public, as well as of emulating the standard Sanskrit texts of other schools and obtaining an equal recognition.

Although the range and versatility of their individual literary works are remarkable, the six Gosvāmins appear to have divided among themselves the work entrusted to them according to their individual taste, inclination and capacity. Sanātana, more devout than scholarly, concerned himself chiefly with theology and interpretation of theological texts ; the more practically minded Gopāla Bhaṭṭa elaborately codified its ritualism and devotional practices; while Raghunātha Dāsa, more poetically and emotionally disposed, gave fanciful expression in prose and verse to the erotic mysticism which the faith associated with Kṛṣṇa's sports. Rūpa Gosvāmin, a passionate devotee but possessing a trained scholastic mind,

took up for special treatment the emotional analysis of Bhakti as a Rasa, and wrote authoritatively on its peculiar psychology, systematising a rhetorical Bhakti-rasa-śāstra, as well as composing illustrative dramas and poems on Kṛṣṇa-līlā and compiling an anthology of the varied literary expression of the faith. He also supplemented in a more scholastic spirit the theological labours of Sanātana by his *Laghu* or *Saṃkṣepa-bhāgavat āmṛta,* which purporting by its name to be only a summary of Sanātana's *Bṛhad-bhāgavatāmṛta,* is really an independent treatise. Rūpa Gosvāmin also indicated a system of romantic Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa associations (Gaṇas), which later on formed the basis of an elaborate hagiology of the cult. Trained by them and deeply read in their learned works, Jīva Gosvāmin possessed a more versatile mind and wrote equally authoritatively on almost all the branches of the Vaiṣṇava Śāstra, but his natural predilection, as well as his early philosophical training at Benares, fitted him for the task of giving an elaborate exposition of its mystico-metaphysical dogmatics. In this way the six Gosvāmins covered the whole range of the Vaiṣṇava Śāstra; and with the exception of the much later works (18th century) of Viśvanātha Cakravartin and Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa, they practically created the entire religious and speculative literature of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism.

Of these six Gosvāmins, we are for the present concerned chiefly with Rūpa Gosvāmin, about whom and his brother Sanātana we fortunately possess some reliable record. Their nephew Jīva Gosvāmin, at the close of his abridgment of Sanātana's *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī* commentary on *Bhāgavata*, gives us the genealogy of the family, as well as a list of their principal works. This list, which can be generally corroborated from other sources, is quoted with approval in the Bengali *Bhakti-ratnākara* which, together with Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* and the *Prema-vilāsa,* supplies additional information about Sanātana, Rūpa and Jīva. From these accounts we learn that they were descended originally from Karṇāṭa Brahmins who had migrated and settled in Bengal. It is somewhat curious that the work of the four Gosvāmins, whose ancestors belonged to Karṇāṭa or the South, far excelled in range, depth, quality and magnitude the work of the other two who belonged strictly to Bengal. The previous history of the family of Rūpa and Sanātana is thus given by their nephew Jīva, who was the only son of their untimely deceased third brother Anupama (also called Vallabha). There was a prince of Karṇāṭa, named Sarvajña Jagadguru, of the Bharadvāja-gotra of Brahmins, who is said to have added to his other princely qualities a knowledge of the three Vedas. His son Aniruddha, who succeeded him, was also a

renowned prince, but he fancied only the Yajur-veda. Of Aniruddha's two sons, Rūpeśvara and Harihara, by his two wives, the first became an accomplished scholar but the second took to evil ways and turned out his step-brother from his principality. Rūpeśvara, who fled to some country in the east, had a son named Padmanābha, who was well-versed in the Yajur-veda and the Upaniṣads. Padmanābha settled on the banks of the Ganges at Návahaṭṭa (modern Naihati, according to the *Bhakti-ratnākara*), performed a Yajña and had five sons, of whom Mukunda was the youngest. On account of a quarrel with his relative, Mukunda left Navahaṭṭa and went to Vaṅga (East Bengal), settling at Fatoyabad, near Jessore, within the Bākla Candradvīpa Pergunna. Mukunda appears to have had several sons, of whom we are concerned here with three, to whom Caitanya gave the names of Sanātana, Rūpa and Anupama. Anupama's original name is given as Vallabha, but our information is uncertain with regard to the original names of Rūpa and Sanātana.

The eldest Sanātana appears to have learned Sanskrit from Ratnākara Vidyāvācaspati, a scholar of Navadvīpa, who is said to have been a younger brother of Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma and whom Sanātana mentions reverentially as his Guru in the opening verses of his *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī*. Belonging, as he did, to a learned,

respectable and well-to-do family, Sanātana made his way in the world, became a high official (Mahāmantrin, we are told) at the Muhammadan court at Gauḍa, acquired considerable wealth and power, and settled with his brothers at the village of Rāmakeli, near Gauḍa, where he met Caitanya for the first time when the latter was on his way to Vṛndāvana. Rūpa also appears to have held some high official position at the same court. Although Sanātana and Rūpa had the Muhammadan names or titles of Dabir Khās and Sāker Malik respectively, before Caitanya gave them new Hindu names, this custom of adopting Muhammadan names or titles of distinction as a sign of royal favour was not unusual, and there is no satisfactory evidence to establish their alleged conversion into Muhammadanism. On the contrary, the *Bhakti-ratnākara* tells us that they invited a colony of Karṇāṭa Brahmins to settle near Rāmakeli and apparently kept up their inherited social and religious practices, only considering themselves impure because of their contact with Mlecchas. They kept themselves in touch with the Vaiṣṇavas of Navadvīpa, and had from the beginning an obviously Vaiṣṇava disposition. The two early Dūta-Kāvyas which Rūpa appears to have composed before he met Caitanya bear testimony not only to their retention of ancestral faith but also to their early

interest in Kṛṣṇa-līlā. At any rate, their anomalous social position, as well as their innate Vaiṣṇavite proclivities, must have made them spiritually dissatisfied, and they welcomed Caitanya's presence at Rāmkeli as a means of escape and salvation. Not very long afterwards Rūpa left home with his younger brother Anupama and joined Caitanya at Allahabad on the latter's way back from Vṛndāvana. At Benares they were joined later on by Sanātana who was delayed, it is said, by the jealousy of his Muhammadan ruler ; for after Rūpa's defection, the prince was afraid of losing the valued service of Sanātana and had thrown the latter into prison. The story of their Vairāgya is told in a somewhat romantic strain in the Bengali *Prema-vilāsa* ; but there cannot be any doubt about the inward imperious urge which led them to forsake worldly eminence and fortune for the sake of scholarly life of asceticism and spiritual advancement. They requested Caitanya's permission to accompany him to Puri, but were directed to go to Vṛndāvana first.

Having visited Vṛndāvana, Rūpa Gosvāmin left for Puri with his brother Anupama who, however, died on the way in Bengal on the banks of the Ganges. It is said that during his journey to Puri Rūpa conceived the idea of writing some Sanskrit dramas on Kṛṣṇa-līlā, and by the time he reached Puri he had already

composed a part of his drama *Vidagdha-mādhava*. Receiving the approval of Caitanya, who however suggested to him that he should write also on the Mādhurya aspect of the Līlā, Rūpa was inspired with the idea of his *Lalita-mādhava*. Some time later Sanātana also came to Puri, and Caitanya is said to have given to the two brothers detailed instructions regarding the composition of various Śāstric works for the sect. After these short visits they returned to Vṛndāvana and settled there till their death, leading the hard life of an ascetic devotee and carrying on with selfless devotion the laborious work entrusted to them, for which they were eminently fitted by their learning and piety. Caitanya himself is reported to have said that there was not a greater learned man than Sanātana and his brother, and it was probably this qualification which led him to choose them among all his disciples for this special work. Such was their sincerity of devotion that Jīva Gosvāmin tells us that even Kṛṣṇa revealed himself to them on one occasion as a young Gopa bringing milk to quench their thirst. Later on their nephew Jīva Gosvāmin, who was trained at Benares under Madhusūdana Vācaspati, an accomplished grammarian, Smārta and Vedāntist, joined them at Vṛndāvana, where he appears to have been carefully instructed by his uncles in the Bhakti-śāstra and afterwards taken as a

worthy collaborator in their literary efforts for the cause of Caitanyaism.

The Vaiṣṇava treatises composed by Sanātana are not many. They are: (i) the (*Bṛhad-*) *Bhāgavatāmṛta* with its *Digdarśanī* commentary, (ii) a commentary also called *Digdarśanī* on Gopālabhaṭṭa's *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, which latter work also is sometimes attributed to him and in the composition of which he might have collaborated, (iii) a commentary on the Tenth Skandha of the *Śrīmadbhāgavata* entitled *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī*, of which an abridged *Laghu-vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī* or simply *Laghu-toṣaṇī* was prepared by Jīva Gosvāmin. All these works are available in print, having been published at Murshidabad by the Radharaman Press, Berhampore (in Bengali character), and (iv) *Tātparya-dīpikā* commentary on Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* (Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue*, vii, pp. 1422-23).

Rūpa Gosvāmin's works are more numerous, and almost all of them have been printed in Bengali character by the above Press (as marked by asterisk below; separate editions when available are also mentioned below). They are:

(i-ii) *Haṃsa-dūta* and *Uddhava-sandeśa* (Kāvya) [very often printed, and available in Devanagari character in Haeberlin's Anthology pp. 323 f and in the Kāvya-saṃgraha published by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta 1888, pts. ii pp. 441-507 and iii pp. 215-275].

(iii) * *Stava-mālā*, consisting of Stavas, Stotras and Gītas (64 in number) of varying length, composed in different metres, collected together under this title by Jīva Gosvāmin.

(iv) * *Vidagdha-mādhava* (Drama) [also published in Kāvyamālā 81, Bombay 1903].

(v) * *Lalita-mādhava* (Drama).

(vi) * *Dāna-keli-kaumudī* (Bhāṇikā).

(vii-viii) * *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* and its supplement * *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi* (Bhakti-rasa-Śāstra). [The former is also published by Dāmodara Śāstrin at Benares 1931, and the latter in the Kāvyamālā 95, Bombay 1913.]

(ix) *Mathurā-māhātmya*, said to be now included in the *Varāha-purāṇa* (not separately published).

(x) * *Padyāvalī* (Anthology).

(xi) * *Nāṭaka-candrikā* (Dramaturgy).

(xii) * *Saṃkṣepa-bhāgavatāmṛta* (Theology).

(xiii) * *Śrī-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā* or *Rādhā-kṛṣṇa gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā* (Bṛhat and Laghu).[6]

With regard to the exact dates of Sanātana and Rūpa, no authentic information is available ; but from their relation to Caitanya and from the dates of composition recorded at the end of some of their own works, we can approximately fix the period of their literary activity. Rūpa

[6] Some other minor works are sometimes ascribed to Rūpa but the genuineness of such attribution is doubtful. For these discussions reference may be made to my larger work mentioned above.

Gosvāmin's two Dūta-kāvyas mentioned above were probably composed before his conversion, as there is no Namaskriyā or reference in them to Caitanya. The *Padyāvalī*, which is cited by name in his *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu*, *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi* and *Nāṭaka-candrikā* was probably also an early compilation. It may, however, have been recast or added to before the composition of these works. This surmise follows from the fact that it contains no Namaskriyā or reference to Caitanya but gives all the eight verses of Caitanya's so-called *Śikṣāṣṭaka* with the subscription Śrī-bhagavataḥ. It does not also give verses from any of Rūpa's dramatic works, which have been very profusely utilised for illustrative verses in his two treatises on the Rasa-śāstra mentioned above as well as in his *Nāṭaka-candrikā*. The *Padyāvalī* in its turn quotes verses from the following stotras of Rūpa included in his *Stava-mālā*, viz., *Govinda-birudāvalī*, *Vṛndāvana-go-vatsa-cāraṇādi-līlā* and *Mathurāṣṭka*, which must have even composed earlier. Some of Rūpa's other works, however, are expressly dated. His *Dāna-keli-kaumudī*, which professes to have been written at Nandīśvara for the pleasure of some dear friend living on the banks of the Kuṇḍa[7], appears to bear the earliest date, viz., Śaka

[7] There is some doubt regarding this date for which reference should be made to our forthcoming work on the subject already mentioned above.

1417=1495 A.D.[8] If the date is correct, it is clear that this work must have been written long before the author met Caitanya, who himself could not have been more than ten years old at that time. It is thus probably one of his earliest works ; and, while his other dramas pay opening homage to Caitanya, the *Dāna-keli-kaumudī* makes no reference to him. Next comes the *Vidagdha-mādhava* which gives us the date Saṃvat 1589=1533 A.D.[9] The compilation of his *Lalita-mādhava* is dated[10] in the month of Jyaiṣṭha in Śaka 1459=1537 A.D. The *Nāṭaka-candrikā* which draws upon all these dramatic works for its illustrative verses (as well as upon the *Padyāvalī*) but which makes no reference to the two works on Rasa-śāstra, must have been composed after these dramas were completed.

[8] *gate manu-śate śāke candra-svara-samanvite*
nandīśvare nivasatā bhāṇikeyaṃ vinirmitā.

This verse occurs not only in the printed text, but also in Haraprasad Sastri, *Notices* i, no 164 and in the *Descriptive Catalogue of Madras Government Oriental Mss Library*, xxi, p. 8407 (no 12521). The date cannot be explained (as done by the commentary) as Śaka 1471 =1549 A.D.; for the *Dāna keli-kaumudī* is cited in the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta* which is dated in Śaka 1463=1541 A.D.

[9] *nava-sindhura-bāṇendu-saṃkhye samvatsare gate*
vidagdha-mādhavaṃ nāma nāṭakaṃ gokule kṛtam.
(*v.l. nanda* for *nava* in *Madras Catalogue*, xxi, p. 8514).

[10] *Nandeṣu-vedendu-mite śakābde*
śukrasya māsasya tithau caturthyām
dine dineśasya hariṃ praṇamya
samāpayaṃ bhadra-vane prabandham.

His *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* appears to have been completed[11] in Śaka 1463=1541 A.D., and his *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi*, which purports to be its supplement, must have been composed later. His next dated work appears to be the *Bṛhad-rādhā-kṛṣṇa-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā* which was completed in the month of Śrāvaṇa (July-August) Śaka 1472=1550 A.D.,[12] while his *Utkalikā-vallarī* stotra (included in the *Stava-mālā*) is dated[13] in the month of Pauṣa (December-January) in Śaka 1471=1549 A.D. These dates would make it clear that the most flourishing period of Rūpa's literary activity falls between 1533 and 1550 A.D., but it must have begun as early as 1495 A.D.

The verses of the *Padyāvalī* are selected and arranged not so much to illustrate the intricacies of the theology and philosophy of Caitanyaism but to exemplify, by means of the devotional verses of various Vaiṣṇava writers, the general features

11 *rāmāṅga śakra-gaṇite śāke gokulam adhiṣṭhitena*
śrī-bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhur viṭaṅkitaḥ kṣudra-rūpeṇa.

The *v.l.* *rāmāṅka-śakra-gaṇite* is noticed in R. G. Bhandarkar, *Report 1883-84* (Bombay 1887), p. 76, which would give Śaka 1493. But the commentator Jīva Gosvāmin in explaining the passage distinctly states *tri-ṣaṣṭhyadhika-caturdaśa-gaṇite*, and further notes the corresponding Saṃvat era as *vikramādityasya tvaṣṭa-navatyadhika-pañcadaśa-śatī-gaṇite iti jñeyam.* The reading of the two Dacca University Mss (Nos. 2459 and 2483) which we consulted is *rāmāṅga-śakra-gaṇite*, and the explanation of the commentary is given there as above.

12 *śāke dṛg-aśva-śakre nabhasi nabhomaṇi-dine ṣaṣṭhyām*
vraja-pati-sadmani rādhā-kṛṣṇa-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikādīpi.

13 *candrāśva-bhuvane śāke pauṣe-gokula-vāsinā*
iyam utkalikā-pūrva-vallarī nirmitā mayā.

of the attitude of Bhakti as a Rasa or devotional sentiment. It is true that the philosophical or theological dogmas and doctrines of Caitanyaism are intimately connected with the erotico-emotional ideas of its Rasa-śāstra, and the two points of view cannot be strictly separated; but our poet-rhetorician is concerned here chiefly with its emotional conception of Bhakti and its devotional attitude towards Kṛṣṇalīlā, as they find expression in the living poetic experience of antecedent or contemporaneous Vaiṣṇava devotees, great or small. It is hardly necessary for us therefore to enter into the details of the theological or philosophical presupposition of Caitanyaism, for the devotional sincerity of the verses in our Anthology can be appreciated even without considering them from this point of view ; but we may briefly indicate here their general connexion with the Bhakti-Rasa-śāstra, as one of their avowed objects is to illustrate its various implications.

Caitanyaism believes in three stadiums or gradations of one and indivisible Reality, which are designated respectively as the Brahma, the Paramātman and the Bhagavat. The distinction is not essential but is one of degree only; and the distinction is possible because different Sādhakas possess different capacities and modes of realisation. The Brahma (neuter), as the philosophical absolute, is nothing but the *nirviśeṣa*

state of the Bhagavat, conceived as the unconditioned, impersonal and undifferentiated thought-substance and corresponding to the Brahma of the Advaita-vādins; but the Bhagavat, as the religious concrete, constitutes the complete manifestation of the godhead as the perfect person in the fullest display of the distinctive divine potencies, features and attributes. The Brahma is unqualified, the Bhagavat is infinitely qualified by an infinity of perfect attributes. In the Brahma all the powers and attributes remain in a potential and undifferentiated state, but the Bhagavat represents the highest being or person in the hierarchy of spiritual manifestation, in whom all the Viśeṣas are infinitely and most perfectly developed. The Bhagavat, therefore, represents the conception of the highest personal god of this theistic school of Vaiṣṇavism ; and as he is the Lord in full manifestation (*pūrṇa āvirbhāva*), the Brahma is his incomplete or imperfect manifestation (*asamyag-āvirbhāva*), the latter realisable no doubt by Jñāna but the former accessible only to Bhakti. It must not be supposed that the vision of the one form is real and the other unreal, for both the forms are in essence identical ; but the apparent difference arises from the complete or incomplete nature of the vision due to a difference in the mode of worship followed by the particular seeker.

The essence of the Lordship or Bhagavattā consists in the actualisation of the divine Śakti or energy which is intrinsic to the divine person ; and on the degree and quality of the display of this Śakti the distinction of three concepts of the Brahma, the Paramātman and the Bhagavat depends. The Śakti or divine energy of the Bhagavat is viewed in three respects, but in their totality all the three aspects constitute his self or essence, although in his unthinkable power he actually transcends them. These three aspects are respectively called (i) the Parā (Antaraṅgā), or Svarūpa-śakti, (ii) the Taṭasthā or Jīva-śakti, and (iii) the Bahiraṅgā or Māyā-śakti. The Parā or Svarūpa-śakti, as the name itself implies, is that energy which constitutes the most essential and perfect selfhood of the Bhagavat and is therefore inseparable from him. This energy is also called Antaraṅga or intrinsic, as opposed to the Māyā-śakti which is Bahiraṅga or exteral and which never affects his true self. To this Māyā-śakti is attributed the sustenance and dissolution of the phenomenal world, which consists chiefly of an aspect of Bahiraṅga Vibhava or extraneous power in the form of the material Prakṛti or Pradhāna. Although unconnected with the essential divine self, this Māyā-śakti is also real, and not merely a power of illusion as the Advaita-vādins think ; the resulting phenomenal world therefore is also

relatively real. As an energy must inhere in a substance, the Bhagavat is as much the substratum of the Māyā-śakti as of the Svarūpa-śakti, but the Māyā-śakti is said to be extraneous to his essence or svarūpa, because this self-determined limitation through the Māyā-śakti does not exist in the highest form of the Bhagavat. The Taṭasthā or Jīva-śakti, as the name itself implies, is that form of the divine energy which does not fall under either of the above two categories of Antaraṅgā and Bahiraṅgā Śaktis, being distinct from both and yet closely related to both. The Jīva as the individual self is an aspect of this Śakti. This Śakti is called Taṭasthā or aloof because the Jīva, as an expression of this Śakti, is a part (albeit an infinitesimal part) of the Bhagavat, but the Jīva is also liable to the influence of the Māyā-śakti which, having power over creation, is the source of bondage and re-birth. Thus, the Jīva cannot come directly under the Svarūpa-śakti which is eternally unaffected by the Māyā-śakti ; but on account of its ultimate affinity with the Bhagavat, the Jīva even in bondage has the inherent capacity of realising itself and becoming a part of the Svarūpa-śakti. Hence, to explain the nature and position of the Jīva it is necessary to presume an intermediate Taṭasthā Śakti which is connected with but which is distinct from both the Antaraṅgā and Bahiraṅgā Śaktis. The concept of the Paramātman as a

partial manifestation of the Bhagavat has relation mainly to the Jīva-śakti and the Māyā-śakti of the Lord, and is therefore presupposed for this special purpose. The Parmātman is thus the supreme godhead viewed in relation to Spirit (Jīva) and Nature (Prakṛti); he is endowed with the powers of creation, sustenance and dissolution of the world, as well as of being the inward regulator or Antaryāmin of the individual self. The relation between the Bhagavat and Paramātman, like that between the Bhagavat and the Brahma, is really one of gradation in the hierarchy of manifestations of one and the same Reality, viewed differently with different capacity by the individual seekers. But since the two energies assigned to the Paramātman are regarded as either aloof or external in relation to the intrinsic divine energy, the function of the Paramātman operates only so long as the Jīva is at a lower plane and is blind to the true nature of Reality.

The necessity for postulating these three concepts of the Brahma, the Paramātman and the Bhagavat is not difficult to understand. As a theistic sectarian faith which believes in a personal god, the concept of the Bhagavat as the perfect person is a philosophical necessity and justification; while the Advaita concept of the Nirviśeṣa Brahma as an historical heritage has to be recognised and reconciled, from its own point of view, as a lower manifestation, vouchsafed to the

religiously defective but intellectually keen seeker. The *raison d'ètre* of the third concept of the Paramātman is somewhat more complex. The idea of the Antaryāmin as the inward ruler is upaniṣadic, and Deussen is probably right in thinking that from this idea developed the concept of a divine person in later theistic systems, in which the idea is, as here, implicitly recognised. The term Paramātman, as well as the underlying idea of the Paramātman in relation to the Jīvātman, in which also is absorbed the already established idea of the evolution of Prakṛti, is therefore a legacy of older philosophical systems, which is acknowledged also in one of the sources of modern sectarian Vaiṣṇavism, viz. in the Purāṇic speculation. The difficulties, however, of the Advaita doctrine of Māyā and of its monistic and highly idealistic interpretation of the relation of Jīva to Brahma made such a theory unacceptable in their entirety to the dualistic Bengal school. As the Bengal school believed, somewhat in the Sāṃkhya manner, in the relative reality of the world, the Vedāntic theory of its illusory unreality was not consistent with its dualistic position. To obviate these difficulties and to reconcile traditional ideas mentioned above with its own view of a personal god, the supreme deity in the lower form of the Paramātman had to be endowed with two real and eternal Śaktis in relation to the Jīva and the Prakṛti. The workings of

these two Śaktis, however, are supposed not to affect the essential selfhood of the god, just in the same way as the Advaita-vādin's Māyā does not affect the impersonal and unconditioned Brahma.

Thus, according to the view of the Bengal school, there is in the highest form of the Bhagavat a direct and full display of the Svarūpa-śakti which goes to make up the Svarūpa or the perfect divine self. The other two Śaktis are displayed indirectly through the medium of the partial form of the Paramātman. In other words, these two Śaktis have scope only when the Jīva is in the deluded (*vimohita*) stage, but when it attains the Bhagavat himself, the Jīva is subject only to the Svarūpa-śakti of the Bhagavat, of which, as we shall see presently, Bhakti is a function. The Svarūpa-śakti, again, viewed in its different aspects, is classified into Sandhinī, Saṃvit and Hlādinī Śaktis which correspond roughly to Sat, Cit and Ānanda of orthodox philosophy. The Sandhinī Śakti is the energy of existence of the self-existent being, which also upholds the existence of the Jīva and the Prakṛti. It is in relation to this Śakti that the Bhagavat is described as the ultimate reality, and the world and the individual as relative reality. By the Saṃvit Śakti, the self-knowing Bhagavat is both the knowledge and the knower, and makes others possessed of

knowledge. The last Hlādinī Śakti is the Bhagavat's energy of infinite bliss, which also causes in others pure bliss. These Śaktis in their fullest form exist in the Bhagavat, but since the Jīva is an Aṇu or infinitesimal part of the Bhagavat it has the capacity of realising them but for the obscuration caused by the Māyā-śakti.

All these aspects of the Svarūpa-śakti are regarded as collateral attributes of the Bhagavat, existing inseparably and eternally in him and constituting in their totality and unity his very self. They are yet graded in a peculiar manner. Of the Sandhinī, Saṃvit and Hlādinī each succeeding Śakti is supposed to include and supersede the preceding, so that the Hlādinī Śakti is the highest and most important, inasmuch as it includes and supersedes the other two. The Bhakti as a function in the Jīva is only an expression of this Hlādinī Śakti by which the Jīva releases itself from the fetters of the extraneous Māyā-śakti in the phenomenal world and realises its contiguity to the Bhagavat. This prominence given to the Hlādinī Śakti thus explains not only the peculiarly emotional character of its attitude of Bhakti or devotion but also the peculiarly emotional standpoint of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism which conceives its deity as essentially composed of bliss and regards the various forms or stages of the devotional attitude in terms of intimate human relationship

considered in its emotional aspects (such as Dāsya, Sakhya, Vātsalya etc). This highest divine attribute of bliss is the source of his eternal Līlā or motiveless sport, which the divine Being enjoys with his Associates (Parikaras), who are also his Devotees (Bhaktas) and who constitute nothing more than expressions of his Svarūpa-śakti; in other words, the Śaktimat in his infinite bliss sports with his own Śaktis. This is also expressed by the statement that the Lord is Rasa or the highest relishable sentiment itself, which attribute is nothing more than an aspect of his Hlādinī Śakti. This Rasa, which constitutes the Svarūpa or essence of the Lord, is taken ultimately to signify the highest and best Rasa recognised by the Vaiṣṇava Bhakti-śāstra of this school, viz., Mādhurya or Madhura Rasa, which is another name for the religiously sublimated erotic sentiment (Śṛṅgāra), forming the highest and purest transformation of the mighty sex-impulse of human beings. The attitude is a kind of erotic mysticism which seeks to express religious longings in the intimate language of earthly passion, for it conceives divine love as a reflex of the human emotion. The Śaktis are accordingly conceived, in terms of emotional human relationship, as his consorts or wives with whom he sports eternally; and this devout yet sensuous attitude entirely humanises the diety and presents him in a lovable human relation to his associates or devotees.

The relation of the Śaktis to the Possessor of the Śaktis is represented, metaphysically, as an inscrutable (*acintya*) relation of non-difference as well as of difference, the whole theory thus receiving the designation of Acintya-bhedābheda-vāda, a peculiar point of view which distinguishes the Bengal school from other schools of Vaiṣṇavism. As parts of the divine being, the Śaktis are indeed non-different, but they also possess a real and separate existence, which is indeed relative to that of the Lord but which is nevertheless absolute in itself. The identity as well as the distinction is illustrated by an analogy. The three Śaktis are like the three aspects in which the sun manifests itself, viz., the solar disc (maṇḍala), the solar rays (raśmi) and the solar reflexion or halo (bimba). The Antaraṅgā or Svarūpa-śakti corresponds to the luminous disc or body of the sun itself, the Taṭasthā or Jīva-śakti is compared to its rays scattered away but ultimately contained in the sun itself as the original source, and the Bahiraṅgā or Māyā-śakti is likened to the reflexion which is a dazzling illusion emanating from the sun and obscuring it, but existing outside and not forming an integral part of the sun.

As the Jīva is regarded as an aspect of the Jīva-śakti, the relation between the Jīva and the Paramātman is the same as that between the Śakti and the Śaktimat described above. The

Jīva is non-different in essence from the Bhagavat, because it is a part or Aṃśa, even if an atomic part, and possesses, even if in infinitesimal amount, the same divine characteristics, of which bliss is the most important ; but since the superlativeness of the attributes and characteristics belongs to the Bhagavat alone and not to the Jīva, there is an inevitable difference, and complete identity can never be predicated. As the capacity for bliss, however, is an inherent attribute of the Jīva, it finds a point of contact with the intrinsic blissful energy of the Bhagavat through the function of Bhakti, which itself is nothing more than an expression of this divine energy. This natural capacity of the Jīva restores its affinity or contiguity to the Svarūpa-śakti of the Bhagavat and counteracts its predisposed averseness which springs from the effects of the external Māyā-śakti. But the Jīva is never, by its very nature, an equal but a subordinate ; and even when freed from the bondage of the Māyā-śakti, the Jīva persists in its real and eternal character as an eternal spiritual atom worshipping the Lord. The state of release, therefore, is only a release from the phenomenal bondage of the Māyā-śakti; it is not extinction on perception of identity or the merging of the Jīva in the Bhagavat. The emancipated self is no longer the Jīva or a part of the Jīva-śakti but becomes a part of the Svarūpa-śakti as the Lord's Parikara (Associate)

or Bhakta (Devotee) in his paradise. But even in this emancipated state the relation of non-identity in identity (*bhedābheda*) continues, and the emancipated self persists as a devout servant of the Lord. Salvation, therefore, consists in an eternal experience of love in the ecstatic divine sport or Līlā. This is a privilege which is not granted to the Jñānin or the Yogin who attains only the inferior and colourless bliss of Brahmāsvāda, but to the Bhakta who makes light of such Mokṣa and delights in the bliss of continuous emotional worship or Bhajanānanda in the Bhagavat.

This Vaiṣṇava conception of the inherent Śaktis presumes the idea of the Bhagavat as the perfect person, and conceives him not as a formless entity but as an embodied substance, in which inhere infinite divine attributes and energies. The Lord is, therefore, not *a-mūrta* or un-embodied, but has a blessed form, a Mūrti or Vigraha, which however is not like the gross or sensuous form of human beings. The limbs and senses of the Jīva are due to the Jīva-śakti and are therefore phenomenal and material, but the Lord in his Svarūpa-śakti possesses a non-phenomenal and spiritual body. The divine person is conceived as identical with the divine essence in the supreme unity of the divine self ; but it is not *nirviśeṣa* or undifferentiated but something real and *sa-viśeṣa*, possessing its own divine attributes. This form is, no doubt, unthinkable, but for purposes of medita-

tion or devotion it is thinkable. Although this form has sometimes been described in the scriptures as possessing two, four, six or eight hands, yet the Bengal School firmly believes that the two-handed form of the divinity, of which presumably man is the image, is the best and most beautiful for purposes of worship, inasmuch as it exhibits his attributes to the best advantage. If the Bhagavat is sometimes spoken of as assuming the phenomenal attributes of birth, childhood etc., these are not in reality phenomenal but aspects of his intrinsic self. Though the appearance may occur in the phenomenal world, it is not in itself phenomenal but is an expression at will of his essential divine Svarūpa which he always retains. In the same way, the Bhagavat as the perfect person possesses also a transcendental dwelling place, distinctive colour and decoration peculiar to himself as a personal god. No doubt, these are, like his Vigraha, regarded as expressions of his inherent divine self ; nevertheless as a personal god he is represented as having a real, and not merely figurative, abode and sets of Parikaras etc. for the display of his Svarūpa.

The Bengal school identifies the Bhagavat with Kṛṣṇa depicted in the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* and presents him as its highest personal god. It maintains that Kṛṣṇa is not an Avatāra or an incarnation of the divine being, partial or complete, but that he is the Bhagavat himself in his perfect

form. The Avatāras or series of incarnated divine forms are regarded as springing from the Paramātman in whom in their unmanifest form they lie in an indiscrete and germinal state ; but Kṛṣṇa is identical with the Bhagavat himself (*kṛṣṇas tu bhagavān svayam*) in such a way that the phrase does not even mean that the Bhagavat manifested himself as Kṛṣṇa. If he appeared in the phenomenal world, it was not as an Avatāra but in his essential self as the Bhagavat. Nor did he ever enter into a gross body but retained his non-phenomenal form, which is the form known as that of Kṛṣṇa. He never himself undertook the task of removing the burden of the world, which task is proper only to an Avatāra ; but these acts were performed by the partial incarnations which also, as parts in the whole, entered into him and made their simultaneous appearance. Such mundane appearance of the Kṛṣṇa-Bhagavat is regarded as entirely motiveless, and represented as an expression of his infinite attribute of bliss, called his Līlā or sport, for the purpose making his devotees enjoy the sweetness of this bliss. This is also conceived as the central purport of the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, so that all the Purāṇas or texts which speak of their own deities as the highest being are rejected as Tāmasika and therefore inferior in authority to the greatest Sāttvika Purāṇa, namely, the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*. Even Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva are

Gauṇa Avatāras of the Paramātman. In the Kṛṣṇa-Bhagavat there is the fullest display of of all the divine Śaktis but what is prominent is the highest expression of the Hlādinī Śakti or the attribute of bliss which absorbs and supersedes all other aspects of the Svarūpa-śakti. The divine being revels in delight and produces delight in others. He fascinates and intoxicates men and himself enjoys this ecstatic bliss ; for the divine nature expresses itself exclusively in this form of perfect bliss and sweetness. As such, Kṛṣṇa, the highest embodiment of the erotic Ānanda or Mādhurya, is superior to such lower expressions of the deity as Nārāyaṇa and Vāsudeva in whom only the aspect of divine might or Aiśvarya is displayed. As the supreme god Kṛṣṇa-Bhagavat can have no other real and eternal form than the form of man (*narākṛti*), such four-handed forms of the deity as Vāsudeva etc. represent only the lower Aiśvarya aspect. The transcendental Kṛṣṇa-Vigraha in the form and dress of a Gopa existed eternally in unmanifest sport (Aprakaṭa Līlā) even before its actual appearance in the Dvāpara Age in manifest sport (Prakaṭa Līlā), and it also exists eternally. One can understand that since the highest divinity is conceived as a personal god of love and grace the best form that is attributed to him is that which bears a similarity to that of man; but there was perhaps a narrower sectarian reason

for distinguishing and establishing the two-handed Kṛṣṇa form as the most essential divine form. The attempt was perhaps meant to show that although Kṛṣṇa as Vāsudeva or Nārāyaṇa, manifested in the four-handed form, is worshipped by some sects, Kṛṣṇa as the two-handed son of Nanda, the object of worship of the Bengal sect, represents the deity in his real and eternal form.

With regard to the transendental dwelling places and Parikaras of the Bhagavat, it is maintained that they are none other than those of Kṛṣṇa. His Dhāmas, as also his Parikaras, constitute in reality peculiar expressions of his most intrinsic and highest attribute of bliss, so that when the Bhagavat in his Svarūpa as Kṛṣṇa makes his appearance in the phenomenal world, his Dhāmas, along with his Parikaras, make their simultaneous appearance ; and like the Vigraha of the Bhagavat himself, his Dhāmas and Parikaras do not lose their non-phenomenal character. By his inscrutable power, his highest Paradise, which is set above all the Lokas, also exists on the phenomenal earth, so that the terrestrial Gokula or Vṛndāvana is not essentially different but really identical with the celestial Goloka, and the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa exists in both places with his same Parikaras. Just as the Vigraha of the god is conceived after the image of man, the Bengal School conceives the celestial residence of the deity on the model of the legendary

terrestrial abode of Kṛṣṇa, so that the unearthly Kṛṣṇa-loka is only a sublimated replica of the earthly haunts of Vṛndāvana with its familiar objects and associations. Even the word Goloka is interpreted as equivalent to the word Gokula as the abode of cows and cowherds ; and as Kṛṣṇa in the form and dress of Gopa is the most essential form of the deity, his Parikaras, as his sajātīyas, are also Gopas in both places. But this Kṛṣṇa-loka appears in three aspects in three different places as Vṛndāvana, Mathurā and Dvārakā according to the difference in his Līlā and his Parikaras appearing in each. In other words, the same Dhāma appears in three different aspects, each of which has a speciality according to the difference of appearance in the manifestation of the Lord and his Parikaras, i.e., of the particular Līlā taking place in each. The earthly replica of these three Dhāmas are not mere geographical localities, but being eternally occupied by the Bhagavat they are mystically conceived as non-phenomenal and eternal. In other words, these places are not mere places of worship or pilgrimage where the deity is supposed to remain in a subtle form or in the form of an image, but they are expressly said to be the actual places of personal residence of the deity. It is also laid down that the Parikaras consist of the Yādavas in Dvārakā and Mathurā, and of the Gopa-Gopīs in Vṛndāvana. Since they grow out

of the Bhagavat as aspects of his Svarūpa-śakti, their resemblance to the deity consists not only in the matter of divine qualities but also in temperament, dress and diversions; they are however not equal but subordinate to the Lord, being his eternal servants and worshippers. The acts of Kṛṣṇa-Bhagavat, like birth, child-hood etc. in the Līlā, resemble phenomenal acts, but they are not phenomenal because they are regarded as intrinsic to the divine self at the particular Līlā. The only reason for such a display of the Līlā as has a mundane form is that it causes great bliss to his devotees. It may be noted here that the Bengal School, in pursuance of this theory, maintains that Kṛṣṇa eternally appears as the son of Nanda and Yaśodā, as an aspect of his divine Līlā, without actually entering into the gross body and being born like a phenomenal being; and that the form of Kṛṣṇa as the son of Vasudeva and Devakī is not identical with his form as the son of Yaśodā and Nanda. As the status of Vasudeva and Devakī as divine Parikaras was lower in respect of their devotion, Kṛṣṇa did not manifest himself to them in his sweet intrinsic form of a Gopa with two hands, but in the lower awe-inspiring form of Vāsudeva with four hands; but he allowed himself to be taken to the place of Nanda and Yaśodā at Vṛndāvana where he assumed his real form.

If Kṛṣṇa is supposed to sport simultaneously

and eternally at his three Dhāmas, viz., Vṛndāvana, Mathurā and Dvārakā, how is it that his progression from Vṛndāvana to Mathurā, then to Dvārakā and finally to Goloka, is described in the sacred texts ? This is explained by the supposition that all this is described with reference to Kṛṣṇa's appearance in the Prakaṭa or Manifest Līlā in the phenomenal world, but the Aprakaṭa Līlā which is not revealed to the phenomenal world eternally goes on in three Dhāmas simultaneously. It is difficult to render the word Līlā into English, but since the word connotes the idea of inherent bliss and erotic sweetness (Mādhurya) in the Bhagavat's relation to his own Śaktis and excludes all ideas of conscious effort and ulterior motive in a mood of divine sportiveness, it may be provisionally, if inadequately, rendered by the word 'Sport'. This Līlā, sport or play, is nothing but the manifestation of the ecstatic principle of the divine self ; and the ideal presentation of this is the erotic principle of the Gopī-Līlā, which symbolically figures the realisation of the divine nature in its own divine energies or Śaktis. This Līlā or beatific sport may be Prakaṭa or Manifest and Aprakaṭa or Unmanifest, according as it can or cannot be apprehended by phenomenal beings. Both the Līlās are real, and as a matter of fact one and the same Līlā appears in the twofold way on account of the limitations

of the phenomenal Jīva. This theory is utilised for explaining that what appears as Kṛṣṇa's separation in one form of the Līlā may be union in the other form. Thus, at the termination of the Prakaṭa Līlā at Vṛndāvana it appears as if a separation occurred between Kṛṣṇa and the Gopa-Gopīs, but it really did not occur ; for he at once became united with them in the Aprakaṭa Līlā into which he entered simultaneously. In other words, union is an eternal fact in Kṛṣṇa's Aprakaṭa Līlā which goes on unimpeded in all the Dhāmas, but since it is sometimes hidden and sometimes manifested to the view of phenomenal beings, there are apparent separations and unions in the Prakaṭa Līlā. All this may appear inconceivable to phenomenal beings, but all contradictions, like union and separation, have no essential validity in the perfect being ; they are meant to produce a variety in the nature of the bliss in each manifestation. Thus, Kṛṣṇa's alleged return to Vṛndāvana from Mathurā, which is described in the *Padmapurāṇa* but which is obscure in the *Bhāgavata*, is explained by this theory as occurring in the Aprakaṭa Līlā.

The different Prakāśas or manifestations of Kṛṣṇa are each characterised by the different aspects of the divine self, such as aspects of Aiśvarya (power), Kāruṇya (compassion) and Mādhurya (erotic sweetness and beauty). In the

manifestation at Vṛndāvana, all these aspects are said to be displayed, but, most of all, Mādhurya. Since Mādhurya is an expression of the highest Hlādinī Śakti of the Bhagavat, and since it is prominent in the superlative degree in Kṛṣṇa's sports at Vṛndāvana, the highest and best manifestation of Kṛṣṇa is said to have occurred and still occurs at Vṛndāvana, which is thus the best of the Dhāmas and the true Goloka. As an expression of this Mādhurya Kṛṣṇa remains here eternally in his beautiful adolescent appearance (*kiśora-mūrti*), round which all his sports, both in the Prakaṭa and Aprakaṭa Līlā, centre, for his essential form consists in this manifestation of eternal youth and beauty.

The Svarūpa-śakti of the Bhagavat is called Lakṣmī, who is represented as his divine consort and with whom he sports eternally. The Svarūpa-śakti of Kṛṣṇa as the Bhagavat in his various Dhāmas and Līlās are given as follows. In the two Dhāmas Mathurā and Dvārakā the general designation of the different aspects of the Śakti is Mahiṣī, given collectively to the sixteen thousand queenly wives of the royal Kṛṣṇa. Of these eight are his Paṭṭa-mahiṣīs or chief queens, and each of them represents symbolically one or other of the aspects of the Svarūpa-śakti, e.g., Satyabhāmā = Bhū-śakti, Yamunā = Kṛpā-śakti etc. Of these, again, Rukmiṇī, the most beloved, is Lakṣmī herself. In Vṛndāvana the appearances

of Kṛṣṇa's Svarūpa-śakti are the Vraja-devīs or Gopīs, who are the special expressions of Kṛṣṇa's highest Hlādinī Śakti, and are therefore generally superior to the Mahiṣīs at Dvārakā and Mathurā. There are gradations, however, among the Gopīs, according to the various degrees of manifestation of the Śakti in them ; and this is symbolised by the difference of their feelings for Kṛṣṇa as well as by the difference of Kṛṣṇa's own manifestation to them. These gradations are represented in the Vaiṣṇava Rasa-śāstra as analogous to the various stages of human relationship conceived in the emotional aspect. Thus, Rādhā as the greatest beloved is said to represent, to the exclusion of other Gopīs, the highest stage of love, called Mahābhāva, and she is said to have obtained Kṛṣṇa in the fullest manner. The superiority of the Gopīs to every other beloved and Bhakta of Kṛṣṇa consists in the fact that in them is pre-eminently displayed the essence of the erotic sentiment or love, which in its turn is the essence of the supreme Hlādinī Śakti. On this account there is the highest realisation of the Bhagavat's bliss in them by which there arises the divine desire to sport with them. Among the Gopīs Rādhā is Lakṣmī herself and represents the highest degree of the supreme love, being identical with Kṛṣṇa's greatest attribute of bliss ; and in this is to be found the symbolical interpretation of Kṛṣṇa's

eternal amorous sports with Rādhā. Rādhā is taken as the highest type of the Bhakta, the highest Parikara, as well as the closest consort of Kṛṣṇa, and thereby she represents the highest attribute of bliss which constitutes the very essence of divine selfhood

The passion of the Gopīs for Kṛṣṇa must not, therefore, be viewed as mere Prākṛta-kāma or sensuous desire. If it is described as a display of conjugal love, this is only natural ; but this must be understood as Aprākṛta or non-phenomenal sport of the divine being with his own Śaktis, although it is similar in form to that of phenomenal human beings. The only exception is that in all these ecstatic sports, the desire of the Gopīs was never for their own pleasure and was meant exclusively for the supreme pleasure of Kṛṣṇa. In other words, the divine self realises itself in its own highest attributes, but the attributes themselves exist only for the divine self. In the phenomenal world the pleasure derived from conjugal love is reckoned as the highest fruition of sensuous pleasure ; it is only natural that Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa should display in his sport with his own Śaktis, viz. the Gopīs, supersensuous pleasure of a similar character, for the Lord's intrinsic self consists of nothing but a spontaneous sport of his own infinite bliss. The sex instinct is thus acknowledged in this theology as one of the mightiest human instincts, which

finds a transfigured counterpart in the highest sportive instinct of the divine being. We are also told that there is no reason to support the view that the Gopīs including Rādhā ever regarded Kṛṣṇa (in human emotional terminology) as their lover or Upapati, for they were his own (Svakīya) and he must be taken as their husband or Pati. Thus, the six Gosvāmins at any rate do not countenance the Parakīyā-vāda which developed at a later period in Bengal Vaiṣṇavism.

It has been already indicated that the Jīvas fall into two broad categories from the standpoint of their attitude towards the Bhagavat, viz., those who through the grace of the deity possess, as an intrinsic attribute, an inevitable proneness or Saṃskāra towards the Bhagavat, and those who under the influence of the Māyā-śakti have this proneness obstructed. The Bhakti, of which the general characteristic is disinterested worship, is the function which leads to a conversion towards the Bhagavat by counteracting the imposed aversion. The external Māyā-śakti can be counteracted by the special aspect of the Lord's Svarūpa-śakti, viz., his Hlādinī Śakti or energy of bliss. This bliss, of which an atom also exists in a dormant state in the Jīva considered as Aṃśa of the Bhagavat, can be released as Bhakti, which itself is thus a display of the divine Svarūpa-śakti. The necessity of devotional worship is thus said to

consist in the fact that it is a natural function of the Jīva as a potency of the Bhagavat. It would therefore be insufficient to describe Bhakti merely as a means ; for being the natural function of the Jīva, which brings about his highest and permanent bliss, it is an end in itself ; it is his highest duty (*parama-dharma*), his *summum bonum* (*parama-puruṣārtha*). The consummation of this Dharma or Puruṣārtha consists not in any desire for earthly or heavenly good but in contributing to the supreme pleasure of the deity by service and love. It is therefore characterised as Ahaitukī or Akiñchanā, i.e., it is not prompted by the desire of any other effect either in this world or the next than the pleasure of the Lord. The Bhakti being the greatest good, those scriptures which speak of Bhakti are superior, and those which make no reference to the Līlā of the Lord are to be rejected. Of these again the supreme place of authority is accorded to the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, which is the almost exclusive scripture of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism.

The Bhakti as a mode of spiritual realisation occupies the highest place, because it supersedes and includes all the other modes of Jñāna, Yoga or Karma, which become redundant when Bhakti is attained. No doubt, the way of Jñāna leads to the realisation of the Brahma ; the Yoga with its practices is helpful for producing non-

attachment to phenomenal objects ; the way of Karma consisting of obedience to scriptural directions and of dedication to the Bhagavat, is also productive of a proneness to the supreme deity. In all these modes there is an element of Bhakti in so far as they are free from any desire of worldly objects and lead to the Bhagavat by producing an inclination towards him; but none of them is entirely disinterested. They are therefore inferior to Śuddhā (pure) or Kevalā (exclusive) Bhakti, the one object of which is not to gain anything for oneself but to contribute to the supreme pleasure of the Bhagavat. The pure Jñāna leads to the Brahma and therefore brings incomplete realisation of a merely partial aspect of the Bhagavat ; it cannot immediately bring vision (Darśana) of the Bhagavat, which pure Bhakti alone can do. The Jñāna-miśrā Bhakti may lead to Śuddhā Bhakti; but it is not necessary to resort to the former when the latter alone is sufficiently efficacious. If there is Bhakti, Jñāna will come of itself, for by realising the Bhagavat one necessarily realises his partial aspect of Brahma, which is attainable by Jñāna. Hence Jñāna and Vairāgya are said to be the offspring or concomitant of Bhakti, for the true Jñāna is Bhagavad-Jñāna which is synonymous with Bhakti. It follows that the way of Bhakti is not only superior to that of Jñāna but it also

dispenses with the necessity of Jñāna as an independent way. It is for this reason that Bhakti must be regarded as superior to Mukti or Mokṣa; and even emancipated souls (Mukta) are represented in the scriptures as not fully satisfied with their state of emancipation but they engage themselves in the worship of the Bhagavat even in that state. Thus the Vaiṣṇava theology of the Bengal school does not altogether reject the way of Jñāna, as it does not altogether reject Brahma, but regards it as an insufficient method, just in the same way as it accepts Brahma as an imperfect appearance of the Bhagavat; but even the Jñāna-miśrā Bhakti is deprecated in favour of Śuddhā Bhakti.

The Yoga is supposed to lead to a higher stage of realisation than that attainable by Jñāna, for it goes beyond the stage of attainment of Nirviśeṣa Brahma to the realistion of the more Sa-viśeṣa Paramātman, and ultimately (if the Yogin possesses Bhakti) to the highest Bhagavat ; for Yoga teaches the suppression of the distractions caused by the Māyā-śakti and the phenomenal world by *chitta-vṛtti-nirodha* ; and the Jīva thereby regains its pure and tranquil state favourable for Bhagavad-darśana. Hence, the Yoga is called Śānta-Bhakti by the Bengal school and is regarded as a variety of Bhakti. It is however regarded as a mode inferior to Śuddhā Bhakti, because the latter goes a step further and

conceives of the supreme deity as the perfect person in terms of such emotional personal relationship as Dāsya, Sakhya, Vātsalya or Mādhurya. But since all the good results of the Yoga-mārga accrue as a concomitant consequence of pure Bhakti, the way of Yoga becomes redundant where Bhakti is awakened.

The reconciliation of Karma and Bhakti is effected after the manner of the *Bhagavad-gītā*, but the ideas are further developed from the point of view of Bhakti. The ceremonial duties are not rejected, but a secondary importance is attached to them as a means to an end ; for it is maintained that the real objective of the Vedic injunctions regarding these duties is not to produce an attachment to worldly objects but to enable the doer to forsake them ultimately. The final object of Karma is to produce freedom from Karma (Naiṣkarmya), and this can be done, as the *Gītā* teaches, by the attitude of non-attachment (*anāsakti*) to the duties and abandonment of all desire for the fruits of action (*phala-tyāga*). But even such a method is useless unless it consists of the entire dedication of all the acts to the pleasure of the Bhagavat. The way of Karma thus becomes superfluous once this attitude of Bhakti is attained. But this does not mean complete inactivity; for the acts of devotion, which alone are the supreme kinds of acts and which are other than those prescribed by external rules,

continue to exist, whereby the highest bliss is obtained. If Karma is not productive of Bhakti it is valueless, just in the same way as Jñāna or Yoga is useless if it does not lead to the Bhagavat; the Karma is useful in so far as it is a step to this ultimate end. These different ways are prescribed for different kinds of people, and each has its use; but when Bhakti comes as the spontaneous expression of divine grace, all these are redundant. As an aspect of Karma, the separate or independent worship of deities other than the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa is forbidden. The attitude of contempt or indifference to other deities is deprecated, but it is held that deities like Śiva, Viṣṇu or Brahmā, who are merely Guṇa-Avatāras of the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa, can be worshipped only because they are themselves Bhaktas or partial aspects of the Bhagavat. For those who regard them as independent objects of worship there is the terrible curse of the sage Bhṛgu referred to in the *Bhāgavata* iv, 2, 27-28.

The true type of the devotional feeling, known as the Akaitavā Bhakti, admits of two stages which are respectively designated as the Vaidhī and the Rāgānugā. The Vaidhī is so called because it arises from following the injunction (*vidhi*) of the Śāstra, the term Śāstra in this case meaning the Vaiṣṇava scriptures in general and the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* in particular; while the Rāgānugā is independent of such

external direction and follows the inclination of spontaneous inward feeling of attachment (*rāga*). The Aṅgas or means of the Vaidhī, which are given as sixty-four in number, consist of acts and practices of piety, great or small, such as resorting to a spiritual guide (Guru) and initiation by him, dwelling in sacred places of pilgrimage, putting on the signs of a Vaiṣṇava and following the proper Vaiṣṇava Ācāra, associating with saintly persons, prostrate obeisance, walking round and worshipping the image of the deity in accordance with the prescribed rules of worship, repeating or singing the sacred names or formulas, listening to the reading of the Vaiṣṇava scriptures, partaking of the remains of the offerings to the deity (Naivedya or Prasāda), observing the fast days, and so forth. The details of these devotional practices have been elaborately set forth by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa in his *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, which compilation is a kind of a complete guide-book to the Vaidhī Bhakti. Of these various practices Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja (*Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, Madhya xxii, 125) distinguishes five as the most important, viz., the society of saintly persons (Sādhu-saṅga), the chanting or singing of Kṛṣṇa's name (Nāma-kīrtana), listening to the reading of the *Bhāgavata* which contains the Līlā of the Lord (Bhāgavata-śravaṇa), dwelling at Mathurā (Mathurā-vāsa) and worship of the Lord's image (Śrī-mūrti-sevā), i.e., fellowship, song, scripture,

pilgrimage and image-worship. But the elements of the Vaidhī Bhakti are sometimes enumerated, in eleven broad categories, viz., (i) Śaraṇāpatti, or resorting to the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa as the only refuge (ii) Guru-sevā, or devotion to the spiritual guide (iii) Śravaṇa, or the act of listening to the accounts of the blessed form, sport and name of the deity, and not a mere mechanical repetition of set formulas and prayers (vi) Kīrtana, or chanting aloud of the above things, especially the singing of the blessed name, which is said to be the best means of attaining the devotional attitude in this decadent Kali Age (v) Smaraṇa, or the act of remembering and fixing one's thoughts on the name, form and sport of the deity (vi) Pada-sevā, or divine service, such as the act of seeing, touching, walking round, serving or following the procession of the divine image, as well as residence in temples and sacred places, pilgrimage, bathing in holy waters etc. (vii) Arcanā, or the overt act of worship, including various rites to be learnt from the Śāstra or from the Guru, this ceremonial worship being recommended highly to wealthy householders as the best means of spending their wealth (viii) Vandana, or act of homage, consisting of salutation (Namṣkāra) to the deity etc. (ix) Dāsya, or actual service of the deity with the feeling that one is only a very humble servant of the deity, (x) Sakhya, the act of fellowship and (xi) Ātma-

nivedana, or the act of complete self-surrender and self-dedication to divine grace. It is also laid down that the Vaidhī Bhakti may be Ekāṅga or attainable by only one of the above modes (as illustrated in *Padyāvalī*, no. 53) or it may be Anekāṅga or attainable by more than one of these modes (e.g. the case of Ambarīṣa). It should also be noted that the Vaiṣṇava scriptures of the Bengal school attach a special importance to the supreme efficacy of the uttering of the blessed name. They maintain a theory of the real and eternal character of the divine name or names, following from the peculiar theological presumption of the essential identity of the name and the possessor of the name (*nāma-nāminor abhedaḥ*); for the school believes that the divine name itself being supermundane (*aprākṛta*) has a spiritual significance and potency, and is a kind of Varṇa-Avatāra of the deity.

But passionate souls soon pass beyond outward rule and form to an inner and more esoteric way of realisation based upon the cultivation of inward feelings of devotion. This leads us to the second type or stage, namely, the Rāgānugā Bhakti, by which is meant the feeling of loving devotion which follows the lines of the Rāgātmikā Bhakti eternally displayed by the divine Śaktis (in the form of divine Parikaras) towards the Śaktimat Kṛṣṇa. As its name implies, it consists entirely of Rāga which is defined as the

natural, deep and unimpeded excess of desire or attachment of a subject towards an object of desire or attachment. It indicates in the present case the spontaneous flow of the natural and deep devotion of the dear ones of Kṛṣṇa who stand in particular emotional relationship to the deity as aspects of the eternal divine sport displayed in the divine Dhāmas. As these dear ones of Kṛśṇa represent the different aspects of the deity's own attribute of bliss, the one and the same Hlādinī Śakti in its infinite potency reflects itself in the form of different Rasas or devotional sentiments in them, and results in different personal relationships (e.g. that of a son, relative, lover, friend, servant etc.) between the deity and his dear ones who are his own embodied energies. Viewed from the standpoint of emotional human relationships, the varieties of sentiments (Rasas) thus reflected in the divine sport become types or stages of the Rāgātmikā Bhakti, on the model of which the Rāgānugā Bhakti of the ordinary devotee proceeds as types or stages of the devotional sentiment. We have seen that the Vaidhī Bhakti need not involve any emotional realisation of this character ; it is enough if the religious duties enjoined by Śāstric injunctions are performed as overt acts in an attitude of piety. The Rāgānugā Bhakti, on the other hand, consists of an .emtional sublimation of intimate human sentiments by directing them

towards Kṛṣṇa. It is, however, still an elaborate realisation or Sādhana-bhakti involving external effort ; for even if it is independent of mechanical Śāstric rules and depends entirely upon one's own emotional capacity of devotion, it is still engendered not of itself but by imitating the action and effort of those who are Kṛṣṇa's own. The different emotional states are achieved by Smaraṇa or recollection, by a concentrated imaginative process which is supposed to be more effective for a mystic union with the beloved object. As it consists of ardent meditation of Kṛṣṇa and his dear ones in different emotional relationships, the devotee, living either physically or mentally in Vṛndāvana as a Sādhaka or Siddha, follows the ways of the Gopa-Gopīs in order to realise the same state of feeling as they feel, and adopts, according to his capacity or inclination, the particular Bhāva of the particular favourite of Kṛṣṇa, (e.g. the Bhāva of Rādhā, or of her Sakhīs, or of Yaśodā) even to an imitation of her dress (Veśa), sport (Līlā) or temperament (Svabhāva). It is thus an ecstasy of vicarious enjoyment in the sense that the devotee does not seek to establish a direct personal contact with the deity but prepares himself for it by imitating and realising within himself the different aspects of the beatific sports in terms of one or other of the blissful devotional sentiments ; and through years of constant practice he ultimately identifies

himself with such sentiments. By means of his ardent emotion he seeks to visualise and make the whole Līlā of Kṛṣṇa live before him ; but he enters into it imaginatively, and by playing the part of the beloved of Kṛṣṇa he experiences vicariously the passionate feelings which belong to the role and which are vividly pictured in the Vaiṣṇava scriptures.

As an example of such a Sādhaka, Rūpa Gosvāmin himself is often mentioned ; and in Bengal Vaiṣṇava hagiology he is supposed to be an incarnation or appearance of Rūpamañjarī, a Sakhī in Vraja-līlā, whose Bhāva or sentiment Rūpa Gosvāmin is said to have realised. We are told in the *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā* of Kavikarṇa-pūra (śl. 180-86) that of the various beloved Gopīs of Kṛṣṇa, Rūpamañjarī appeared in Caitanya-līlā as Rūpa Gosvāmin, Lāvaṇyamañjarī as Sanātana Gosvāmin, Ratimañjarī as Raghunātha-dāsa, Guṇamañjarī as Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, Rasamañjarī as Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa and Vilāsamañjarī as Jīva Gosvāmin. In this way a scheme of the re-appearance of the Gaṇas of Kṛṣṇa is elaborated, in the work quoted above, as Gaṇas of Caitanya. This conception of the prominent Vaiṣṇavas as the incarnation chiefly of the Gopīs of Vṛndāvana, as well as the general presentation of Bhakti as a type of erotic mysticism, is based probably on the doctrine which regards Kṛṣṇa as the sole male and maintains that the devotee can fully realise

passionate devotion, only when he conceives himself, in the highest stage of the Madhura or erotic Rasa, as a female taking part in the beatific sports. This is indeed a curious but logical development of the theory of the Rāgānugā Bhakti.

A further maturing of the two types of Sādhana-bhakti (Vaidhī and Rāgānugā) mentioned above leads to what is called Bhāva-bhakti, which arises without any external aid or effort as an intimate personal feeling. This attitude may also develop independently through the grace of the deity. A further direct ripening of the Bhāva-bhakti brings on the highest conceivable type of Bhakti, viz., the Prema-bhakti or Prīti towards Kṛṣṇa as a personal god of love and grace.

Although orthodox Sanskrit Poetics, which concerns itself with the analysis of feelings and sentiments, would not regard this religious emotion (Bhāva) of Bhakti as capable of being developed into a sentiment (Rasa) in poetry and drama, the Vaiṣṇava theory approximates it to this supreme relish of aesthetic enjoyment or Rasa, and considers it as capable of being awakened in the same manner in the heart of the devotee, who takes the place of the literary connoisseur. For the working out of this novel idea of Bhakti as a Rasa, the whole apparatus of orthodox Sanskrit Poetics is freely utilised

and ingeniously applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to the Vaiṣṇava conception of the sentiment of Bhakti.[14] A new turn was thus given not only to the old Rasa-theory of conventional Poetics but also to the religious emotion underlying the mediaeval Vaiṣṇava faith, which was interpreted anew. Rūpa Gosvāmin himself has given us an elaborate exposition of the subject in his two works, the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* and its supplement *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi*, which, embodying what may be called the Bhakti-Rasa-śāstra of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, constitute a kind of rhetoric of Bhakti with all its appropriate psychology, conceit and imagery. The mediaeval conception of love is sublimated into a deeply religious sentiment by bringing erotico-religious ideas to bear upon the theme of the literary Rasa, especially the Erotic Rasa (Śṛṅgāra). If the mediaeval Troubadours of France and Italy conceived the love of Christ as an aspect of the Law and wrote a Grammar of the amorous sentiment, the mediaeval Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal conceived the love of Kṛṣṇa as an aspect of Psychology and wrote a Rhetoric of the erotic emotion. The literary Sahṛdaya, as the recepient connoisseur, was replaced by the religious Bhakta, the devotee of nice sensibility; while the love of Kṛṣṇa was

14 An account of the Bhakti-Rasa-śāstra of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, based chiefly on the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* and *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi* of Rūpa Gosvāmin, has been given by the present writer in *IHQ*, viii (1932), pp. 643-688.

installed as the dominant feeling (Sthāyi-bhāva), which by means of its appropriate Excitant (Vibhāva), Ensuant (Anubhāva) and Auxiliary feelings (Vyabhicāri-bhāvas) could be raised to the supreme relishable condition of impersonal enjoyment in his susceptible mind as the Bhakti-Rasa or devotional sentiment. Our poet-rhetorician Rūpa Gosvāmin, who was also an ardent devotee, was eminently fitted for the peculiar task of outlining such a scheme by adapting the main ideas and technicalities of the literary Rasa to the theme of religious Bhakti as a Rasa. Not content with theoretical analysis, he also undertook the writing of a number of devotional poems and dramas and compiling the present Anthology of verses on Kṛṣṇa-līlā for the special purpose of illustrating his theme.

For a proper understanding of this Vaiṣṇava idea of Bhakti as a Rasa, as expressed in the literary and religious productions of the Bengal school, it would be desirable to appreciate this novel presentation of Bhakti as a psychological entity, as a literary-erotic emotion transmuted into a deep and ineffable devotional sentiment, which is intensely personal as a subjective feeling and which is yet relished as an impersonalised mental condition of disinterested joy. The attitude is a curious mixture of the aesthetic, the erotic and the religious, and the entire scheme as such is a curiously complicated one. We find

here an enthusiasm, natural to the analytic scholastic mind, for elaborate and subtle psychologising, as well as for developing and refining in a new sphere the inherited rhetorical traditions; but the attempt is also inspired very largely by an antecedent and still living poetic experience (Jayadeva and Bilvamaṅgala), which found expression also in the vernacular poetry (Vidyāpati and Caṇḍīdāsa), as well as by the simple piety of popular religion, which reflected itself in the passionate and picturesque conceptions of such Purāṇas as the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, the fountain-source of mediaeval Vaiṣṇava Bhakti. But the ideas go further and rest ultimately on the transcendental in personal religious experience of an emotional character, which does not deny the senses but goes beyond their pale in a mood of mystic eroticism. As in its theology and philosophy, so also in its Rasa-śāstra, there is a curious combination not only of mythology and speculation, but also of the natural and the supernatural, of the real and the mystical,—a trait which characterises the entire religious literature of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism.

As we have already remarked, the process of the awakening of Bhakti, conceived as a Rasa, moves along the familiar grooves of Alaṃkāra ideas and expressions. The dominant feeling or Sthāyi-bhāva of Bhakti-Rasa is supposed to be Kṛṣṇa-rati, the feeling of Kṛṣṇa and his dear

ones, which by means of its suitable Vibhāvas etc. is raised to a state of relish (svādyatā) in the mind of the Bhakta, who replaces the literary Sāmājika or Sahṛdaya. The Excitants or Vibhāvas, which make the Sthāyi-bhāva of Kṛṣṇa-rati capable of being relished, are either Substantial (Ālambana) or Enhancing (Uddīpana). The former consist of Kṛṣṇa as the object (Viṣaya) of the feeling and the Kṛṣṇa-Bhakta (Gopīs etc.) as the ground (Ādhāra) of the feeling; while the latter include such conditions of time, place and circumstance as serve to foster the feeling, e.g. Kṛṣṇa's qualities (Guṇas), exploits (Ceṣṭā), embellishments (Prasādhana) etc. The Ensuants or Anubhāvas, which follow and strengthen the feeling, comprise such outward manifestations as singing (Gīta), dancing (Nṛtya), rolling on the ground (Viluṭhita), profusion of sighs (Śvāsa-bhūman) etc. which are proper to the feeling excited. The Auxiliary feelings or Vyabhicāri-bhāvas, which are subsidiary emotions of more or less transitory nature, consist of the thirty-three orthodox Vyabhicāris which have been categorically accepted but given a new application. The Sthāyi-bhāva or the root-feeling of the Vaiṣṇava Bhakti-Rasa, as we have noted above, is taken to be the feeling which concerns Kṛṣṇa himself and which the Bhakta vicariously realises as his own, just as the literary Sahṛdaya relishes the aesthetic

Rasa which concerns the hero in a literary composition. The orthodox nine Sthāyi-bhāvas are evaluated in terms of this idea. Against the nine orthodox Rasas corresponding to or resulting from the nine orthodox Sthāyi-bhāvas, twelve are elaborated in Vaiṣṇava Rasa-śāstra of which however seven (Hāsya, Vīra, Adbhuta, Karuṇa, Raudra, Bībhatsa and Bhayānaka) are regarded as secondary. The remaining five, which are regarded as primary Rasas, are Śānta (Devotion as Quietism), Prīta or Dāsya (Devotion as Faithfulness), Preyas or Sakhya (Devotion as Friendship), Vātsalya (Devotion as Parent, sentiment) and Madhura or Ujjvala (Devotion as the Erotic sentiment). Of these the last is supposed to be the best and highest sentiment.

These five broad categories of the devotional sentiment constitute the forms or gradations of emotional realisation conceived in terms of intimate human sentiments. This idea of a personal emotional relationship between the deity and his dear ones is indeed a fundamental postulate with the Bengal school, because otherwise the relationship would be reduced to one of colourless identity, which cannot be posited in view of its pecular theory of difference in non-difference. It is for this reason that the Śānta-Bhakti, which does not involve any such idea of personal relationship, but consists merely of the devotee's consciousness of his complete identity with the

impersonal Brahma, is distinguished as inferior to the other four kinds of Bhakti. As it involves an amount of mental composure and spiritual meditation, it is not rejected entirely as a mode of realisation, but it is meant for those who are desirous of the lower objective of Mukti (and not Bhakti) in the impersonal Brahma. The first stage of real Bhakti, which is above any such motive and which exists entirely for the pleasure of the deity, is Dāsya or the sentiment of servitude, which conceives the deity as the eternal master and his devotee as his eternal servant. The Hanūmat, famed in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, is taken as a type of such Bhakti. There are also two other states of affectionate relationship, viz, Sakhya or the sentiment of Friendship (e.g. Arjuna), and Vātsalya or the Parent-sentiment (e.g. Nanda-Yaśodā), until the climax is reached in the state of Mādhurya or pure erotic love, symbolised by the intense and exquisite feeling of the Gopīs for Kṛṣṇa. The nature of this passion for Kṛṣṇa, as conceived by the Bengal school, has already been discussed above ; but it is worthy of note that the school maintains that this sentiment of the Gopīs can also be imitated and vicariously realised by the male devotee irrespective of his sex. In this highest stage, the lordship of the deity (Aiśvarya) is said to be completely suppressed and superseded by a sweetly powerful and self-surrendering charm

(Mādhurya) which produces the strongest mutual attraction between the deity and the devotee.

As a corollary from the above theory, it follows that the Parikara or Bhakta of Kṛṣṇa, whose Rāgātmikā or Rāgānugā Bhakti occupies a high place in its scheme of devotion, is as important a person as even the deity himself; for the Parikara or the Bhakta is regarded as an expression of the divine Svarūpa-śakti in its blissful or Hlādinī aspect, with whom the deity sports eternally in his Dhāmas. In the second part of his *Saṃkṣepa-bhāgavatāmṛta* Rūpa Gosvāmin dilates on the subject of the Bhakta from the theological point of view, and lays down that to the Vaiṣṇava the adoration of Kṛṣṇa's Bhakta is as indispensable as the adoration of Kṛṣṇa himself. He alone is the greatest Bhakta who is a Bhakta of Kṛṣṇa's Bhakta. Of Kṛṣṇa's Bhaktas, again, there is a gradation according to the quality and character of their devotion. Prahlāda is regarded as the chief among ordinary Bhaktas, but the Pāṇḍavas are greater than Prahlāda. Some of the Yādavas, again, are greater than Pāṇḍavas; but of the Yādavas Uddhava is the foremost. The Gopīs of of Vṛndāvana are greater even than Uddhava, who himself desired to possess the sweetness of their love for Kṛṣṇa. Of the Gopīs, again, Rādhā is the greatest, which conclusion indicates that there is no greater Bhakta of Kṛṣṇa than

Rādhā who is the essence of his own Hlādinī Śakti.

This conclusion is also established from the point of view of the Rasa-śāstra. Of all the different phases of the Bhakti-Rasa, the erotic Madhura or Śṛṅgāra is regarded as the highest and the best, because the deity's highest attribute of the Hlādinī Śakti is exhibited here to the best advantage. The Madhurā Rati, underlying this Madhura Rasa, is said to be most capable (Samarthā) when, as in the case of the Gopīs, the inclination is entirely for the pleasure of Kṛṣṇa, and it can go up to the highest stage of love called Mahābhāva, appropriate to Rādhā. In the case of the conjugal love of Rukmiṇī and other royal wives of Kṛṣṇa, where the enjoyment is supposed to be as much for Kṛṣṇa as for the wife herself, the feeling is said to be well proportioned (Samañjasā); but it is said to be general (Sādhāraṇī) when, as in the case of the Kubjā, the enjoyment is entirely for the person herself. Again, the erotic feeling is said to reach different degrees of intensity according to its quality; and these are successively (i) Prema, the germination of love (ii) Sneha, constant fondness (iii) Māna, affected repulse of endearment due to excess of emotion, giving rise to a variety of amatory feelings (iv) Praṇaya, friendly confidence and fellowship, (v) Rāga, erotic transmutation of sorrow into

joy (vi) Anurāga, love as constant freshness, and lastly (vii) Bhāva or Mahābhāva, which is the supreme realisation of love as found only in the Gopīs and principally in Rādhā.

The Madhura Rasa may be twofold, according as it is Love-in-union (Sambhoga) and Love-in-separation (Vipralambha). The Vipralambha may take various forms: (i) Pūrva-rāga, incipient love, or love upon first sight or first hearing or upon vision in a dream (ii) Māna, resentment as a bar to the realisation of love (iii) Prema-vaicittya, apprehension of separation, through excessive love, even in the presence of the beloved (iv) Pravāsa, psychological effect of separation due to the absence of the hero gone abroad. The Sambhoga may be direct, or indirect (e.g. in a dream), and may be of four kinds according to its intensity, viz., Brief (Saṃkṣipta), Mixed with contrary feelings (Saṅkīrna) e.g. occurring after Māna, Developed (Sampanna) e.g. occurring after a near Pravāsa, and Complete and Excessive (Samṛddhimat) e.g. occurring after distant Pravāsa. The elements of Sambhoga are sight, touch, stealing of the flute, kissing, embracing etc. leading up to sexual union.

We have no room here to enter into the details of the analysis, but the various phases, moods, circumstances and conditions of the erotic sentiment are minutely classified, illustrated and applied to the case of Kṛṣṇa's sport. The

assistants in love-affair, for instance, the Dūtas and Dūtīs, after the manner of the affairs of the secular hero, are elaborately mentioned and classified. The various types of the hero and the heroine, their amatory and other qualities, the conditions of time, place and other circumstances which evoke and foster love, the various stages of adolescence and youth, the gestures and expressions of the feeling, and other relevant topics in connexion with the erotic sentiment are fully described, analysed and illustrated after the manner of treatment of orthodox Poetics. We have, for instance, the usual classification of the hero into the faithful whose love is centered in one (Anukūla), the gallant whose attention is divided among many (Dakṣiṇa), the Sly (Śaṭha) and the Saucy (Dhṛṣṭa); while the heroine, according to the diversity of her condition or situation in relation to the hero, may be the Abhisārikā who goes out to meet her lover at assignation, the Vāsakasajjā who adorns herself in expectation of the lover, the Utkaṇṭhitā who is disappointed by his non-arrival through some misadventure, the Vipralabdhā who is deceived of her expectation by deliberate unfaithfulness, the Khaṇḍitā who is outraged by the discovery of marks of unfaithfulness on the person of the lover, the Kalahāntaritā who is separated by a quarrel, the Proṣita-bhartṛkā who pines for the lover who has gone abroad, and the Svādhīna-

bhartṛkā who has the lover under her absolute control. In the *Padyāvalī* all these types are illustrated with reference to Rādhā by verses cited from different authors ; but for a detailed account of these topics one must refer to Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi* which is devoted to a special enquiry and analysis of the Madhura Rasa in relation to Kṛṣṇa and his beloved Gopīs.

It will be clear from what is said above that the mood of erotic mysticism, which seeks to express religious longings in the language of earthly passion, forms one of the basic inspirations of Caitanyaism, in which it is seen in its full bloom. In the older Bhakti works like the *Bhagavad-gītā* the mood of Bhakti is indeed presented as an ethical and mystical passion of an intensely personal character, rather than as an impersonal intellectual conviction adduced by mere knowledge ; but the Bhakti there is more speculative than passionate. The Bhakti in the *Mahābhārata* in general is often explained by the analogy of the love of the wife for her husband, and the term Bhakti itself in the later Sūtras of Nārada and Śāṇḍilya is made interchangeable with the terms Bhāva, Prīti or Anurakti as expressive of ardent emotion ; but the passionateness of of earlier theistic devotionalism was never entirely divorced from intellectual satisfaction or moral earnestness. Though not identical with it, knowledge was still accepted as a

preliminary to the emotion of Bhakti, and action was not entirely excluded. The mediaeval expressions of the passion, however, dispense with Jñāna and Karma in the orthodox sense, and take their stand entirely upon mystical emotional realisation (Rasa). All worship and even salvation are regarded as nothing more than a blissful enjoyment of divine sports involving personal consciousness and relationship, direct or remote, between the enjoyer and the enjoyed. But in the emphasis given to the erotic sentiment involved in the sports of Kṛṣṇa, it borders definitely upon sense-devotion, and leans perceptibly and dangerously towards the erotic passion. The ultimate felicitous state is conceived as an eternity of enjoyment of the erotic sports of Vṛndāvana in which the faithful serve Kṛṣṇa as did the Gopīs ; and, however figuratively the doctrine may have been interpreted, the erotic emotionalism is essential and prominent. In the hands of these erotic emotionalists there is a fresh accession and interpretation of romantic legends ; and the Purāṇic life of Kṛṣṇa being brought to the foreground, the older epic figure of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa is transformed beyond recognition. The old epic spirit of godly wisdom and manly devotion is replaced by a new spirit of mystical and theological fancy, of tender rapture over divine babyhood, and of sensuous and erotic passion of ecstasy over the loveliness of divine

adolescence ; and its god is moulded accordingly. The essential truth of the doctrine of Vṛndāvana-līlā, no doubt, lies in its appeal for a more emotional religion and its protest against the hard intellectuality of the times ; and the whole theory of Bhakti-Rasa appeals to the exceedingly familiar and authentic intensity of human moods and sentiments. But here we have also a marked development of the dubious erotic possibilities of the theme in an atmosphere of highly passionate and sensuous life and literature. In Bengal Vaiṣṇavism the tendency goes a step further. It seeks to realise, in its theory and practice, what is supposed to be the actual passion of the deity, figured as a friend, son, father or master, but chiefly and essentially as a lover ; but the attitude becomes too ardent in tendency, and the emphasis laid upon eroticism lapses into a sensuousness of a refined and subtle type inasmuch as the mystical sensibility in this case is chiefly vicarious. The doctrine, no doubt, attempts to transfigure the mighty sex-impulse into a deeply religious emotion, but the way of realisation betrays an abnormal mental state, which seeks the highest satisfaction in a vicarious enjoyment of the erotic sports of Kṛṣṇa, contemplated not merely in a figurative but also in a vivid literal sense.

This fervent quasi-amorous attitude, in spite of its subtle and elusive juggling with

psychological complexes and theological refinements, inspires not only its Śāstra and professedly devotional works, but it also enlivens its mass of resplendent Sanskrit and Bengali lyrics with the poetic possibilities of its mystical erotic impulse. The last reach of Vaiṣṇava Bhakti, transmuted in Bengal Vaiṣṇavism into Prīti or Love, becomes an unfailing and rich source of literary inspiration, as well as of religious emotion; for it becomes personal in ardour, concrete in expression and sincere in appeal. Along with its theology and philosophy was produced a psychological rhetoric of the passionate condition, which reproduced indeed the classical phraseology, conceits and imagery, but whose erotico-religious application and subtilising of emotional details were novel, intimate and inspiring. Whatever may be the devotional value of this attitude, the literary gain was undoubtedly immense. These aesthetic and emotional conventions were implicitly accepted in the literary effusions, and they were often productive of marvellous results. In spite of the formalism of its psychological analysis, the banality of its rhetoric of ornament and conceits and the pedantry of its metaphysical sentimentalism, there can be no doubt that the inspiration supplied by the erotic emotionalism of the new faith to its prolific literature, especially its Bengali lyric literature, was of a deep and far-reaching character. Even

the abstruse dogmas, formulas and shibboleths have had their effect on literary conception and phrasing, but there was an essentially human appeal in its religious attitude, which gave to its literary productions an enduring emotional and poetical value. The wistfulness, amazement and ecstasy of its devotional tendency and the richly romantic idealism of its mystical erotic sensibility lifted the lyric literature of Caitanyaism into a high level of passionate expression, which was endowed by the virtue of these very qualities with as much human as transcendental value.

The verses of the *Padyāvalī*, therefore, can be appreciated as much from the point of view of religious expression as from the standpoint of literary effort of a fervent lyrical character. It brings together in one context the many nuances of the emotional worship of Kṛṣṇa made current by Caitanyaism, and is therefore an important document of its Bhakti-devoutness; but it is also interesting as bearing witness to a phase of the literary activity of mediaeval Bengal which produced in Sanskrit as well as in Bengali a remarkable lyric literature peculiar to itself. In order to appreciate these effusions of the devout heart one must indeed realise the entire mentality of these devotee-poets, their systems of belief, the earnestness and warmth of their passionate faith, the transport and exaltation of their erotic mysticism. But what appeals most to the general

reader is not their theological subtelities, nor their rhetorical commonplaces, but the tenderness and human interest of their lyrical productions; and, apart from the scholastic or sectarian prepossessions, the honest human passion is here expressed with an exquisite directness of speech. The devotee speaks indeed of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, but under this thin veil the poet speaks of his own feelings, of his own hope and fear, his own joys and sorrows. Though still theoretically vicarious, the erotic and other sentiments spring ultimately from direct personal experiences of the poet. Regarded from this point of view, there is no sickly sentimentality or vague reflectiveness in these impassioned utterances ; and, however gross or crude their cry of natural passion may sometimes appear to modern taste, it is impossible to underrate its reality and frankness, the sweet, tender and familiar force of its palpitating humanity. The purely poetic merit of these verses need not be estimated very highly, but their evident ecstatic elevation, expressing itself in a deeply emotional spiritualisation of sensuous forms and ideas, gives them a rich and luscious charm and a sweet ring of sincere passion. It may not have always reached a high level of absolute poetic excellence, but the level it often reaches is striking enough as a symptom cf the presence of the true poetic spirit which this emotional religious movement brought in its wake. Some

of these writers, and especially those who wrote in the vernacular, are indeed poets and not poetical curiosities, even if they are not always great or remarkable poets; and in their impassioned writings we often come across lines, phrases and stanzas of undoubted charm, which indicates a general diffusion of the poetic spirit, capable of making even inferior songsters beautifully and passionately articulate.

The original inspiration of these devotional poems comes of course from such store-house of romantic Kṛṣṇa-legends as the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, but, barring the Maithili and Bengali songs of Vidyāpati and Caṇḍīdāsa, the highly finished lyrics of Jayadeva's *Gīta-govinda*, which formed one of the constant sources of the ecstatic emotions of Caitanya himself, also strengthened its erotico-mystic tendencies. A great influence on this type of writing in Bengal must have also been exerted by the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta* of Līlāśuka Bilvamaṅgala, which work Caitanya is said to have discovered during his South Indian pilgrimage, brought back with him and recommended in superlative terms to his disciples. Several commentaries written by Caitanyaite Vaiṣṇavas on the two lyrical works mentioned above still exist, while Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja speaks of the high devotional value of Bilvamaṅgala's work on which he himself wrote a well known commentary. These two works not only inspired

similar lyrics of an erotico-devotional character on Kṛṣṇa-līlā, but they are also cited with great respect in the Rasa-śāstra of the Bengal school. In the *Padyāvalī* Rūpa Gosvāmin purposely excludes selections from the poems of Jayadeva and Bilvamaṅgala probably because they were widely known, and confines himself chiefly to the so-called minor or otherwise unknown poets ; but there can be no doubt that both Jayadeva and Bilvamaṅgala exercised a great influence on the emotionalism and emotional literary productions of the Bengal sect.

It will be elear from what is said above that the *Padyāvalī* occupies a unique place in the history of anthological literature in Sanskrit. Its merit lies not so much in the selection of really great poems but in its special object of preserving from oblivion a large number of floating minor poems which have a special interest and quality of their own. Leaving aside Prakrit anthologies, we have several valuable anthologies of Sanskrit verses, some of which are indeed rich collections of lyric and gnomic stanzas of unknown or forgotten poets. Most of these verses reflect a natural and charming quality which one misses in the more elaborate masterpieces of great poets. Of these anthologies the earliest known is probably the incomplete work which has been edited by F. W. Thomas under the title of ***Kavīndra-vacana-samuccaya***

(1912) from a unique manuscript in Nepalese character of about the 12th century A.D. As none of the 113 poets to whom its extant 525 verses are attributed can be placed with certainty later than 1000 A.D., the anthology itself cannot belong to a later period. Its opening sections on the Buddha and Avalokiteśvara point to the probability of its unknown compiler having been a Buddhist ; but with the exception of these eighteen or nineteen verses of a distinctly Buddhistic leaning, there is nothing Buddhistic about the work, which contains material, arrangement and division of subjects similar to those of most other Sanskrit anthologies. There is a fairly lengthy section or Vrajyā on Hari containing 53 verses, followed by descriptive verses on Spring, Summer and the Rainy Season, but more than two-thirds of the work (350 verses) are devoted to the theme of love and the lover.

The next anthology of importance is the *Subhāṣitāvalī* of the Kāśmīraka Vallabhadeva, which is quoted directly by Vandyaghaṭīya Sarvānanda in 1160 A.D. in his commentary on the *Amara-kośa*, but the present text of which (ed. Peterson, Bombay 1886) contains a large number of later interpolations and therefore cannot be placed earlier than the 15th century.[15] It is a very considerable anthology containing

[15] See *JRAS*, 1927, pp. 471-77.

3527 verses in 101 sections or Paddhatis. The number of works and authors cited, according to Peterson's list, is about 360. It contains stanzas on a large variety of subjects including thoughts on and descriptions of love and other passions, the conduct of life, natural scenery and seasons, worldly wisdom and witty sayings. On this model is also compiled the *Subhāṣita-muktāvalī* or *Sūkti-muktāvalī* of Jahlaṇa, son of Lakṣmīdhara. The work is being printed and will be published shortly in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series.[16] R. G. Bhandarkar, who first gave a short account of this anthology in one of his valuable *Reports on the Search of Sanskrit Mauuscripts* (1887-91), speaks of a shorter and a longer recension of the text. The compiler Jahlaṇa is placed towards the middle of the 13th century, as both Jahlaṇa and his father Lakṣmīdhara flourished in the reign of Kṛṣṇa who came to the throne in 1247 A.D. It is a fairly extensive anthology containing 2790 verses in 133 sections or Paddhatis, and the general plan and arrangement of subjects are similar to those of Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī*. It contains at the commencement an important section of traditional verses on Sanskrit poets and poetry, which is interesting from the point

16 Through the courtesy of Dr. B. Bhattacharya, the general editor of the Series, we were able to borrow for a short time the file-copy of the complete printed text.

of view of Sanskrit literary history. According to the list compiled by R. G. Bhandarkar from the two recensions, the number of authors and works cited is 243. Of the same character is the anthology, entitled *Śārṅgadhara-paddhati* (ed. Peterson, Bombay 1888), compiled by Śārṅgadhara, son of Dāmodara, in about 1363 A.D. It contains 4689 verses in 163 sections, and the number of works and authors cited is about 292. Its arrangement and subject-matter closely follow those of the two anthologies mentioned above, and a large number of its verses is also to be found in them.

But more important from our point of view is the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta*[17] of Śrīdharadāsa, son of Vaṭudāsa, which is an extensive anthology compiled in Bengal in the beginning of the thirteenth century, the work having been expressly dated in Saṃvat 1127=1205 A.D. The work is divided into five parts called Pravāhas, each of which is again subdivided into sections called Vīcis. The Pravāhas are entitled respectively Amara- or Deva-pravāha, Śṛṅgāra-pravāha, Cāṭu-pravāha, Apadeśa-pravāha and Uccāvaca-

[17] Two fasciculuses of the work containing 184 pages were edited by Rāmāvatāra Śarmā and published till 1921 in the Bibliotheca Indica Series. The work, however, was known, though imperfectly, from Aufrecht's article on Indian Poets in *ZDMG* xxxvi, 361-83, 509-59. The entire work has now been edited by Rāmāvatāra Śarmā and published with a critical introduction in English by Haradatta Śarmā in the Panjab Sanskrit Series, Lahore 1933.

pravāha; and they contain respectively 95, 179, 54, 72 and 84 Vīcis. Each Vīci or section is arranged to contain symmetrically five verses, so that the total number of verses given in this anthology should have been 2380, but as several verses are lost the actual number is 2368. The number of poets and works cited is 485.[18] This anthology, like those mentioned above, gives us some excellent verses of authors who are otherwise unknown and some of whom probably belonged to Bengal. The compiler, who appears to have been patronised by the last Sena kings of Bengal, seems to possess Vaiṣṇavite tendencies and collects a large number of verses on Kṛṣṇa, some of which have been freely reproduced by Rūpa Gosvāmin in the present anthology. Compiled in Bengal within three centuries of our work, it must have been familiar to our author, and there is evidence to show that he utilises much of its material.

The subject-matter, arrangement and method of compilation of the *Padyāvālī*, however, are entirely different. As all the verses are devoted to Kṛṣṇa and Kṛṣṇa-līlā, they are arranged in sections according to the different doctrinaire aspects of Kṛṣṇa-bhakti and the different episodes in the erotic career of Kṛṣṇa; and the whole arrangement conforms generally to the rhetorical classification of the Vaiṣṇava Rasa-

18 Winternitz (*Geschichte d. ind. Lit.* iii, p. 157) gives the number as 446, which is repeated by Keith (*Hist. Sansk. Lit.* p. 222).

śāstra, to which it may be regarded as an illustrative compendium. But Rūpa Gosvāmin does not confine himself in his citations entirely to Vaiṣṇava authors. He cites verses from older well-known authors like Subandhu, Bhavabhūti, Amaru, Rudraṭa or Kṣemendra, who were apparently non-vaiṣṇava authors or authors who wrote on non-vaiṣṇava themes. But one of his peculiar devices, which we have discussed below in our Bibliogrphiacal Notes, is to *vaiṣṇavise* older verses which were originally non-vaiṣṇava by making free textual changes or by placing such verses in a Vaiṣṇavite context. Thus, in verse no. 6 the word *daivāya* is deliberately altered into *kṛṣṇāya* ; in no. 19 *rāma-nāma* into *kṛṣṇa-nāma* ; in nos. 190 and 356 *rāmā* and *bālā* into *rādhā* ; in no. 219 *sundara* into *mādhava* in nos. 302 and 313 *kānta* into *kṛṣṇa* ; in no. 284 *śaurī* and *lakṣmī* into *kṛṣṇa* and *rādhā* respectively. These and other instances of deliberate alteration in the phrasing of older verses of Amaru, Rudraṭa and others will show that the devout Vaiṣṇava compiler had no hesitation in modifying and making such non-sectarian verses applicable to a sectarian purpose. In the case of minor and comparatively recent authors, who are in most cases unknown, we have no data to judge how far their verses have been faithfully reproduced. Some of these anthors may have been contemporaneous, and

some are known also as undoubtedly Vaiṣṇava writers. It seems, however, that Rūpa Gosvāmin did neither confine himself to Bengal, nor even to his own times, but selected his materials widely from both old and new authors, irrespective of their Vaiṣṇava leaning, according as it was convenient to the particular devout purpose he had in view in his compilation of 386 verses from over 125 poets. We have made an attempt in our bibliographical notes to collect together all available informations about these authors and their works, while verses occurring in older anthologies, Alaṃkāra or Kāvya texts and contemporary Vaiṣṇava works have been traced t such sources as far as possible.

The present edition of the text of the *Padyāvalī* has been prepared on the basis of sixteen manuscripts obtained from various sources, a description of which is given below in a separate note. The work is said to have been printed several times in Bengal and in Vṛndāvana, but we had access only to two editions of the text, published respectively from Calcutta and Murshidabad. A description of these printed texts has also been given in the same note. Both these publications appear to have been based upon very imperfect materials, and none of them can strictly be called a critical edition of this important work. It is therefore hardly necessary to make an apology for undertaking

a fresh edition based upon ampler materials and furnished with such critical apparatus as is necessary for critical study. It will appear from the description of manuscripts given below that, with the exception of two manuscripts belonging to the Poona Deccan College collection, all the others are Bengal manuscripts written in Bengali script and follow the Bengal tradition of the text which, as might be expected, is found to be the more reliable tradition by a comparative examination of the manuscripts. There is, however, no question of different recensions of the text; for the text-tradition, after making due allowances for local or scribal differences, is fairly uniform. We have relied principally upon the manuscripts DA (Dacca University collection) and VSPA (Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad collection), which are our two oldest, if not in every respect the best, manuscripts of the text; but since even these two do not always agree in their readings and do not always appear to have preserved the text correctly, the assistance of the other manuscripts was also indispensable. We have not, however, always accepted the readings given by the majority of manuscripts, for sometimes even the majority follow an obviously faulty tradition and perpetuate it by blind repetition. Each reading has been, as far as possible, judged on its own merit, but in each case the alternative readings

given in the different manuscripts have been carefully noted. Even though sixteen manuscripts and two printed texts furnish ample materials, such materials are also sometimes confusing by their quantity and diversity; and the task of critically selecting the proper readings has not been an easy one. It is not pretended that we have always been able to select the most appropriate readings for the text that we have prepared, but the differences of readings noted in each case will enable the critical reader to judge for himself, if he so chooses. It may, however, be noted that since the Bengal text-tradition, in spite of inevitable errors, differences and interpolations, is fairly uniform, nothing would have been gained by the collation of further fresh manuscripts of the same type, especially as we have taken care to consult a fairly large number of manuscripts obtained from a variety of sources. The greatest difficulty, however, was felt with regard to the attribution of verses to their authors, which is hardly uniform in a great number of cases. Very few verses are left unassigned, but where they are assigned even the best of the manuscripts do not sometimes agree in assigning them to a particular author. The attribution of verses in an anthology is notoriously careless, but this defect becomes confusing when a variety of attribution is found in different manuscripts of the same text.

The task of collating sixteen manuscripts and two printed texts had been a slow and laborious process, but very material assistance was rendered in this task by our former pupil and research-student, Miss Mrinal Dasgupta M.A., who also offered her help in the preparation of the indices. To her as well as to those friends and pupils who have helped us in various ways it is a pleasure to acknowledge our indebtedness. It is also a pleasure to thank those who have rendered assistance in lending or obtaining the manuscripts of the text for us. Their names have been separately mentioned in our note on the description of manuscripts, but we renew our acknowledgment here to each of them. We must particularly mention in this connexion Dr. F. W. Thomas, Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford, who evinced a personal interest on learning that we have undertaken an edition of the present text and helped us in securing the Tübingen and the India Office manuscripts; Professor Romesh Chandra Majumdar who borrowed for us the Bengal Asiatic Society manuscripts; Professor S. K. Belvalkar for a loan of the Bhandarkar Institute manuscripts; Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarty for lending us the Saṃskṛta Sāhitya Pariṣad manuscript and one of the printed editions of the text; Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji for assistance in securing on loan the Vaṅgīya

Sāhitya Pariṣad manuscripts ; and, lastly, our former colleague and friend, Professor Radhagovinda Basak, who was then Secretary to the Dacca University Manuscripts Committee, for a loan of the Dacca University manuscripts as well as for assistance in various other ways. It is a pleasure and privilege to associate the names of these distinguished scholars with this modest work and convey our sincere thanks to them for the interest they have taken in it. Thanks are also due to our friend and colleague, Dr. Prabodh Chandra Lahiri, for going over a major part of the printed formes of the text and checking a few errors of the pen and print. For the printing, credit is due to our former pupil, Mr. Suresh Chandra Das M.A., proprietor of the Abinas Press ; but in spite of all care some misprints and errors could not be avoided. Where these have been detected, they have been included in the list of Additions and Corrections which the reader is requested to consult before going through the work.

University of Dacca S. K. De

July 1, 1934.



DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS OF THE TEXT ON WHICH THE PRESENT EDITION IS BASED



Description of Manuscripts

Dacca University Manuscripts

DA = Dacca University Paper Manuscript no. 2354, without commentary. Complete: Folio 1—25. Size $4\frac{3}{4}'' \times 12\frac{3}{4}''$; white country made paper. As a rule there are 11 lines on a page excepting the last page containing 7 lines. On fol. 1 some miscellaneous verses are scribbled with notes. The colophon reads : इति रूपसमाहृता पद्यावली समाप्ता. After this there is an unconnected erotic verse : इह जगति रतीशप्रक्रिया कौतुकिन्यः कति कति न निशीथे सुभ्रुवः सञ्चरन्ति। मम तु विधिहताया ज़ायमानस्मितायाः सहचरि परिपन्थी हन्त दन्तांशुरेषः ॥ The number of verses is given just before the colophon as अत्र श्लोकाः ८५० ॥ but the verses are not consecutively numbered, nor does the statement give the actual number. Marginal glosses are very few. The appearance of the Ms is fairly old, some folios being slightly worm-eaten and frayed by damp at the edges. The Bengali script probably belongs to the end of the 17th or early part of the 18th century A. D., if not to a still earlier date. Fairly correct and carefully written. It is the oldest manuscript of the work in the Dacca University collection, and perhaps one

of the oldest and most important of the manuscripts used for this edition. Presented to the Library by Pandit Rākhālānanda Śāstrī of Śrīkhaṇḍa, Burdwan.

DB = Dacca University Paper Manuscript no. 2420, without commentary. Complete : Fol. 1—52a. Size $5\frac{3}{4}'' \times 11''$; yellow country made paper ; 8 lines on a page. The headings and names of authors as well as marginal glosses are written in red ink. Generally correct, and written neatly with care in large, clear and bold Bengali script with plenty of margin. The colophon reads : समाप्तेयं श्रीपद्यावली ॥ लिपिरियं श्रीवृन्दावनदासस्य ॥ स्वाक्षरमिदं श्रीकुञ्जविहारीमित्रस्य ॥ The appearance of the MS is not old; it probably belongs to the 19th century. The verses are numbered, and the last verse is counted as 397. The occasional marginal glosses are more numerous than in any other manuscript. The Ms ends at fol. 52a, but on fol. 52b there are some verses addressed to Gaṅgā written apparently by a different hand ; probably it constitutes the beginning of another work, a stotra to Gaṅgā. Presented to the Library by Nava Gopāla Gosvāmin of Gaurāṅga-pāḍā, Katwa, Burdwan.

DC = Dacca University Paper Manuscript no. 2474, without commentary. Complete : Folio 1-16a. Size $6\frac{1}{4}'' \times 13\frac{3}{4}''$; white country made paper ; 19 to 20 lines on a page, excepting the last page containing 13 lines. The colophon reads : इति श्रीमद्रूपगोस्वामिसमाहृता पद्यावली समाप्ता ॥ समाप्तेयं पद्यावली ॥ The numbering of verses is irregular. The appearance of the MS is not old ; the Bengali script is modern, probably not earlier than the 19th century. Very few marginal notes or glosses. Not very correct. Generally agrees with DB. Presented to the Library by Pandit Caitanya Caraṇa Caṭṭopādhyāya and Pandit Nityānanda Gosvāmin of Gaurāṅga-vāḍi, Katwa, Burdwan.

DD = Dacca University Paper Manuscript no. 3528, without commentary. Complete: Folio 1—28 ; size $5\frac{1}{2}'' \times 12\frac{1}{4}''$; white country made paper ; 11 lines on a page, excepting the last page which contains 4 lines. The last verse is numbered as 385. The colophon reads: इति पद्यावली परिसमाप्ता ॥ केचित् कर्मपरा भवन्तु कृतिनो ज्ञानैकतानाः परेऽन्ये योगाभ्यसनग्रहास्तदपरे भक्तिप्रधानास्तथा। अस्माकं हरिराधिकारतिगृहं वृन्दावनान्तर्वनं ज्ञेयं ध्येयमिति प्रशस्यमभितः काम्यं निषेव्यं सदा ॥ असम्मुखालोकनमाभिमुख्यं निषेध एवानुमितिप्रकारः। प्रत्युत्तरं मुद्रनमेव वाचां

नवाङ्गनानां नव एव पन्थाः ॥ The Bengali script is good and clear but not old; the Ms is probably not earlier than the 19th century. Hardly any marginal gloss. The writing is apparently in a different hand and on a different paper on fol. 13a and 13b (beginning from *śl.* 164 to the end of *śl.* 177 and first two *pādas* of *śl.* 178), and again from fol. 17a to the end of the work. Fairly correct, the Ms generally agreeing with DA. Presented to the Library by Piyāri Caraṇa Rāya of Jalsuka, Sylhet, Administrator of Bāḍḍānagar estate, Dacca. Place of find—Bāḍḍānagar, Baḍa-Akhḍā, Dacca.

DE=Dacca University Paper Manuscript no. 3487, without commentary. Incomplete and fragmentary, consisting of folio 7 (from ०रङ्गिसङ्गाद्दते in *śl.* 57 to दिनादौ मुरारे नि० in *śl.* 70) and folios 16—37a (beginning with सञ्जयकविशेखरस्य in *śl.* 167 to the end of the work). Size 4¼″×11″; white country made paper. As a rule 9 lines on a page, except the last page (fol. 37a) which contains 8 lines. The verses are numbered, the number of the last verse being 385. The Ms is not old, probably belongs to the end of the 18th century. The Bengali script is neat, large and clear,

and the text is fairly correct. Very few corrections or glosses, but some explanations here and there of words and phrases are written on the margin. The colophon reads: इति पद्यावली परिसमाप्ता ॥ after which comes the two unconnected verses केचित् कर्मपरा भवन्तु and असम्मुखालोकनमाभिमुख्यम् as in DD. This Ms agrees generally with DD and occasionally with DB. Presented as above (DD).

DF = Dacca University Paper MS no. 3940, without commentary. Incomplete and fragmentary, found as stray leaves in the Bāḍḍānagar collection of the University Mss (see above under DD). It consists of continuous folios 22 (beginning with कोऽमलां तव तनुं in *śl.* 108) to 52 only (ending with अदलितनलिनीदलैव in *śl.* 318). Size $2\frac{1}{2}'' \times 16\frac{1}{4}''$; 4 lines on a page, but from fol. 44a there are five lines on a page; brownish country made paper. Appearance not old, the Bengali script being modern, probably not earlier than the 19th century. The verses are numbered, and the number of the last verse of the last folio 52 is 309. But very bad and careless writing; incorrect, and hardly any corrections made on the margin; no gloss. Some verses are dropped from the second *pāda* of *śl.* 182 (q.v.) to the end of *śl.* 200, although the pagination

is continuous; but the verse-numbering here, indicates the dropping. Presented as above (DD, DE).

Manuscripts from Deccan College, Poona (now deposited at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona)

PA = Deccan College Paper Manuscript no. 147 of 1875-76, without commentary. Complete ; neat modern Devanagari script, probably a modern copy of an older Ms. Size 6″ × 14″; Folio 1-22 (though actually given as 23), ending on 22a; 12 lines on a page excepting the last page which contains 7 lines. The colophon reads: इति श्रीमद्रूपगोस्वामिविरचिता पद्यावली सम्पूर्णा ॥ The verses are not numbered. Carefully and fairly correctly written, but there are apparently conjectural fillings up of probable lacunae in the older Ms from which the present Ms was copied. Barring these emendations, which are, however, interesting, the Ms is important. It generally agrees with DB and DC and occasionally with DA and DD; but the sequence of verses is often differently given, and West Indian readings of older well known verses are often to be found. On these grounds it is probable that the Ms is derived from an archetype

somewhat modified from those of the other Bengal Mss. No marginal gloss. Its place of find is given as Kashmir in S. R. Bhandarkar's *Catalogue* of Deccan College Manuscripts (Bombay 1888), p. 80.

PB = Deccan College Paper Manuscript no. 67 of 1873-74, without commentary. Complete : Folio 1-30 ; 11 lines on a page ; modern white paper ; size $6\frac{1}{2}'' \times 11\frac{1}{2}''$; in modern Devanagari script. On the descriptive label attached to the cloth which encases the Ms, it is noted that the Ms "comes from Bikaner", and in S. R. Bhandarkar's *Catalogue* (p. 57) the place of find of this MS is noted as Bikaner.[1] Copied in Samvat 1931=1874 A.D.; probably a copy made for Bühler who was responsible for the collection of 1873-74. But the copy is neither correct nor carefully made. The verses are not numbered The original Ms probably contained many lacunae, and these have been conjecturally filled up or emended in this copy, apparently by a different hand (these we have noted as

1 This was one of the Mss which was apparently utilised by Pischel in writing his monograph on the court-poets of Lakṣmaṇasena (*Die Hofdichter des Lakṣmaṇasena*, p. 10).

"corrected readings" in our critical notes); but the emendations etc are not always happy. No marginal gloss. Most of the headings of the sections are omitted or briefly noted. Many verses found in the Bengal Mss are omitted, new additional verses are given and the sequence of verses is often divergent. It does not agree in these respects also with PA. These characteristics make it probable that this Ms is derived from a different archetype, which however does not keep strictly to the tradition of the Bengal Ms noted above. This codex, however appears to be connected with VSPB [see below]. After our verse no. 387 there are the following additional verses and scribal notes: श्रीमन्मदनगोपालचरणद्वन्द्वसन्निधौ। पद्यावली विलिखिता केनचिद् द्विजबन्धुना॥ प्रीणातु भगवान् कृष्णो राधिकारमणो विभुः। सीदत्यालपशुस्त्रीषु (? सीदद्बालपशुस्त्रीको ?) येनाद्रिप्रवरो धृतः॥ श्रीमच्छ्रीकृष्णचैतन्यचन्द्रे सर्वेषां रतिरस्तु॥ श्रीरामकृष्ण जय॥ ग्रन्थाः ८०० लिपीकृतं मूलचंद व्यास संवत् १९३१ मि० चैत्र सुद ९॥ अंकितं शंकितं पदं बुद्धिभातं धृतं हृतं। प्रतिपुस्तकागं नैव खण्डितं शोधने स्थितं। शोधिता पन्नूलालनन्दनाभ्यां॥ These two Mss (PA and PB) were obtained on loan through the courtesy of the Superintendent of Manuscripts, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

Bikaner State Library Manuscript

With regard to the Bikaner State Library Ms no. 547 described on p. 258 of Rajendralala Mitra's *Catalogue of Bikaner Manuscripts*, an application was made to secure it from the Bikaner State Library. Through the courtesy of the Superintendent of the Manuscript Department of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, information was received in reply from the Chief Secretary to the Prime Minister of the Bikaner State (Letter no. 31 of 1931, dated January 3, 1931) that "although the Manuscript in question is entered in the printed Catalogue of Mr. Rajendra Lal Mitra, it is not entered in the hand-written list of the books of our Library", and that "notwithstanding a search the book is not traceable." Is it possible that this manuscript is the same as the codex PB above, which was derived from Bikaner, and which somehow found its way into the Deccan College Collection ?

India Office Library Manuscript

IO=India Office Library Paper Manuscript no. 823a=Eggeling's *Catalogue*, no. 4034 (pt. vii, p. 1534), received through the

courtesy of Prof. F. W. Thomas of Oxford. The manuscript has been described at length by Eggeling, *op. cit.* Yellowish brown country made paper usual in Colebrooke Mss. Complete : Folio 1—38a ; 6 lines on a page ; without commentary ; size 4½″× 12½″ (bound). Probably copied from an older Ms for Colebrooke, and the usual indication रघुमणि (see our edition of the *Kīcaka-vadha,* Introd. p. xx) occurs on the title-page, implying probably that the Ms was copied or acquired through Colebrooke's Pandit Raghumaṇi. The scribe, however, does not appear to be conversant either with Sanskrit or with the older Bengali script, and copies blindly, often blunderingly. The corrections are few and there is no marginal gloss. The modern Bengali script of the copy is neither neat or good. The text is very incorrect ; dropping of *anusvāras* and *visargas,* wrong spelling, wrong reading of letters or words etc. are frequent on almost every page. The attribution of the verses to authors is often omitted or given wrongly. On the whole, not a very useful Ms. It is probably copied from the same original as ASC (see below). The colophon reads: समाप्तेयं पद्यावली ॥ रामनाथविदुषो श्रीहरिः ॥ कालाम्भो-निधिकालचन्द्रगणिते शांके च (Śaka 1646=1724 A.D.) सिंहे रवौ पञ्चम्यां शशिजे शुभेऽह्नि समये पक्षे सिते स्वातिषु ।

नत्वा श्रीगुरुपादपद्मयुगलं व्यालेखि पद्यावली श्रीलश्रीयुत श्याम-सुन्दरप्रभोर्गोस्वामिनः पुस्तिका ।। The date must have belonged to the original Ms of Pandit Rāmanātha. Counts 389 verses, but the actual number (omitting repetitions etc) is 386.

Tübingen University Library Manuscript

TB = Tübingen University Paper Manuscript, described by Roth in his *Verzeichniss indischer Handschriften der Königlichen Universitätsbibliothek zu Tübingen*, Tübingen 1865, no. 234, p. 12. Received on loan through the courtesy of Prof. F. W. Thomas. Complete ; without commentary. Folio 1-35a ; white country made paper ; 8 lines on a page; size $4\frac{1}{2}'' \times 12\frac{1}{4}''$ (bound). The Bengali script is neat, bold and large, but the Ms not older probably than the 18th century. Fairly correct and carefully written. Some marginal glosses, consisting usually of meanings of difficult words and phrases. Generally agrees with DA. The total number of verses is counted as 382. The colophon reads : इति श्रीपद्यावली समाप्ता ।। राधाधर-सुधाधारधराधराधरसश्रिये । गोपालपुरराजाय नमः पीताम्बराय ते ।। This Ms also was utilised by Pischel in writing his monograph noted above.

Manuscript from the Saṃskṛta Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta

SSP = Saṃskṛta Sāhitya Pariṣad Manuscript no. 85, without commentary. Complete: Folio 1-41a; reddish brown country made paper; size $3\frac{1}{4}'' \times 13\frac{3}{4}''$; 6 lines on a page, the last page (fol. 41a) containing 5 lines. Neat, clear modern Bengali script ; not older than the 19th century. Total number of verses counted as 388. The colophon reads : इति पद्यावली समाप्ता ॥ श्रीश्रीराधाकृष्णाभ्यां नमः ॥ ओं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय नमः ॥ ओं नमो रामचन्द्राय नमः ॥ श्रीहरिः ॥ Fairly correct, barring obvious slips and incorrect spellings. Agrees generally with DD. No marginal gloss. On the right hand corner of the margin of fol. 24b and again of fol. 27b there are written respectively the figures १२।२।१० and १४।१।११. The manuscript was received on loan through the courtesy of Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarty.

Manuscripts from the Asiatic Society of Bengal

ASA = Asiatic Society of Bengal Paper Manuscript no. III. F. 177, mentioned in the *Catalogue of Printed Books and Manuscripts belonging to the Oriental Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* compiled by

Kuñjavihārī Nyāyabhūṣaṇa, Calcutta 1899-1901. Without commentary. Complete : Folio 1-41, ending at 41b. Size $5'' \times 12''$; 8 lines on a page. Both its Bengali script and its white paper are modern, the latter containing distinct water-marks. The Ms appears to be a modern copy made probably in the beginning or middle of the 19th century. The script is neat, clear and bold. No marginal gloss. Counts 385 verses but reads two additional verses after the counting. After our verse no. 387 it ends : श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ श्रीचैतन्यनित्यानन्दचरणौ शरणं मम। स्यातां समस्तवैगुण्यध्वंसिनौ जन्मजन्मनि ॥ इति पद्यावली समाप्ता ॥ लसदुज्ज्वलरस० (see our text, p. 178 f.n.) ॥ राधाधरसुधाधार० (see as above) ॥ श्रीताराचन्द्रदेवशर्मणः पुस्तकमिदं स्वाक्षरञ्चेति ॥ Agrees generally with SSP.

ASB = Asiatic Society of Bengal Paper Manuscript no. III. F. 180, mentioned in the Catalogue as above. Without commentary. No marginal gloss. Complete : Folio 1-59, ending at 59b. Size $4\frac{3}{4}'' \times 12\frac{1}{4}''$; 5 lines on a page, excepting the last page which contains two lines. The script and paper are modern ; of the same date probably as ASA. Counts 385 verses. Ends : इति

पद्यावली पूर्त्तिमगात् ॥ श्रीश्रीकृष्णचैतन्यचन्द्राय नमः ॥ श्रीराधा-गोविन्ददेवो जयति ॥ Agrees generally with DC and occasionally with DD and PA ; but appears to have some value being allied to VSPA (see below).

ASC = Asiatic Society of Bengal Paper Manuscript no. II. A. 12, mentioned in the Catalogue as above. Written and bound in book-size (8″ × 12″); yellow country-made paper ; modern Bengali script ; pages 1-38, ending at 38a. Without commentary. Agrees very closely with IO in the earlier portions of the text, probably copied from the same original. Very incorrectly and indifferently copied, dropping words, letters, vowel-signs, anusvāra and visarga, besides giving obviously corrupt readings (it was not worth while to note these readings in our critical notes). Towards the end, many of the verses are left unassigned. The verses are not regularly numbered. The Ms is not of much value. The Ms begins with the beginning of a commentary on the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta* of Līlāśuka Bilvamaṅgala on pages 1-2 ; but on line 17 of page 2, the *Padyāvalī* abruptly commences with ०मिदमाकृष्य हरिणा (verse no. 17 of our text). But the earlier omitted

verses (1-16), as well as verses 17-29 (repeated over again), are supplied at the end at pp. 35-38; but here also much extraneous matter creeps in mysteriously after verse no. 29. On p. 34, after our verse no. 385 (यदुवंशावतंसाय), two unconnected verses come in ; and after our verse no. 381 (किं पादान्ते लुठसि) metrical definitions of different Nāyikās are given without any connexion. Ends with our verse no. 387. The colophon reads : इति श्रीमद्रूपगोस्वामिसमाहृता पद्यावली समाप्ता ॥

These three manuscripts from the Asiatic Society of Bengal are modern copies, which are of little value, and one of them (ASC) is a hopelessly incorrect and badly written copy. They have not therefore proved very useful ; and yet to obtain them on loan from the Society had not been an easy matter. Repeated applications were made on behalf of the editor by the Dacca University authorities for a loan of these three manuscripts to the University library, where they would have been collated ; but no reply was received to any of these applications. After six months' fruitless correspondence, the editor was asked by the Vice-chancellor to see Mr. Van Mannen, Secretary to

the Society, personally at Calcutta on behalf of the University. It has to be recorded with deep regret that in the interview which followed, a rather brusque declaration was made by the Secretary that the Society was "not a public institution" and that the Mss in question could not be lent even to a public institution like Dacca University, which was willing to take every responsibility with regard to their safe custody and return. One is not sure if this is the view of the authorities of the Society, but it would have certainly smoothed matters a great deal if a little more courtesy, which is desirable in such cases, had been shown by replying to the applications, as well as during the interview. Baffled in this way, the editor approached his friend Professor R. C. Majumdar, who was a member of the Society and who favoured him by personally borrowing the Mss for his use. The editor here makes sincere acknowledgments to Professor Majumdar ; but he cannot refrain from remarking that, even admitting that the Society was not a public institution, it is difficult to believe that this oldest oriental society founded by Sir William Jones was not intended for the benefit of workers in

the field of oriental scholarship ; for such direct refusal of assistance to scholars other than its members, which the editor unfortunately experienced, can hardly be regarded as consistent with the object of any great oriental society.

Manuscripts from the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta

VSPA = Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad Paper Manuscript no. 1092. Without commentary. Complete : Folio 1-27a. Size 5″ × 13¾″ ; 12 lines on a page, but sometimes 10 (fol. 1b) or 11 (fol. 2a) are also found. Occasional marginal glosses. Appearance old and very worn, the last folio being partly damaged and worn out on the edges. Its Bengali script is old ; the writing is fairly clear and bold but faded in some places. It is a fairly correct and valuable manuscript ; and, along with DA noticed above, it is one of the oldest and most important manuscripts collated for this edition. It agrees generally with DB-DC group, but occasionally with TB. Ends : इति पद्यावली समाप्ता ।। पक्षशरसहस्रे च शाके मल्लमहीपतेः । रविवारे सिताष्टम्यां ग्रन्थोऽयं पूर्णतां गतः ।। This apparently

gives the date of the copying of the Ms in 952 (?) Malla Era=1646 A.D. Donor of the Ms: Pañchānana Bhaṭṭācārya.

VSPB=Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad Paper Manuscript no. 1091. Without commentary. Complete: Folio 1-37a. Size $5\frac{1}{2}'' \times 10\frac{3}{4}''$; 10 lines on a page. A modern copy written on European paper in fine bold modern Bengali script. Not very correct. No gloss and no signs that the Ms was ever studied. The headings and sections are written in red ink. It agrees very often with PB. After our verse no. 387, it reads: श्रीमन्मदनगोपालचरणद्वन्द्वसन्निधौ। पद्यावली विरचिता केनचिद् द्विजवन्धुना ।। (see PB) श्रीश्रीवृन्दाटवीश्वराभ्यां नमः ।। इति श्रीमद्रूपगोस्वामिना विरचिता पद्यावली समाप्ता ।। शकाब्दाः १७७२ ।। सन १२५७ साल ।। (=1850 A.D.) सौरचैत्रमासस्य सप्तमदिवसे बुधवारे द्वितीयायां तिथौ समाप्तश्चायं ग्रन्थः ।। श्रीकालिदासवसुदासस्य स्वाक्षरमिदं पुस्तकञ्च ।। Donor of the Ms: Basanta Rañjana Rāya Vidvadvallabha.

Both these Mss from the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad were obtained through the courtesy of Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji.

Among the sixteen manuscripts collated for this edition, the six Dacca University Mss can be roughly distinguished into two groups, the Mss in each of which agree in most particulars and should be traced to a common source: viz. , (i) DA, DD, DE and (ii) DB, DC, DF. The source of the first group may be designated X and that of the second Y, each of which again appears to go back to a common archetype. Of the remaining Mss the following appear to be more closely allied and may be grouped together: (a) SSP and ASA, with which the printed text of AKG generally agrees (b) IO and ASC (c) VSPA and ASB, and (d) PB and VSPB ; but none of the individual Mss of each of these groups can be taken as copies of the same original or replicas of each other. The codex TB appears to belong generally to the source X, but it occasionally agrees also with the source Y ; while PA, which stands somewhat apart, may be connected generally with the source Y. Beyond this general classification, direct affiliation is difficult on account of strange discordances, scribal eclecticism and obvious contamination of readings. But it would appear that

of the four groups (a), (b), (c) and (d) indicated above, the groups (a) and (b) belong to the source X, while (c) and (d) generally agree with the Mss belonging to the source Y. The printed edition PT appears to be eclectic, but it agrees more with the source X than with the source Y.

Previous Editions of the Text

PT = Edited in Bengali character with the Sanskrit commentary of Vīracandra Gosvāmin, entitled Rasika-raṅgadā, and with a Bengali translation of the text by Rāma Nārāyaṇa Vidyāratna and Rāsavihārī Sāṅkhyatīratha. Murshidabad, Printed at the Radharaman Press, Berhampore. B.S. 1318=1911 A.D., pp. 372+v. Total number of verses, 392. [A previous edition of the same published in B.S. 1291=1884 A.D., pp. 372].

The commentary of Vīracandra printed in this edition (referred to by the abbreviation Comm) is not particularly valuable, being the work of a very recent author. From its opening and concluding verses we learn that the commentator was the son of Kiśorīmohana Gosvāmin and descendant of Nityānanda. He was a native of the village of Māḍo, near Mānkar, in Burdwan; and the more well-known Raghunandana Gosvāmin, author of the Bengali poems, *Rāma-rasāyana* and *Rādhā-mādhavodaya*[1] was his step-brother. Vīracandra was the

[1] See S. K. De, *Bengali Literature in Nineteeth Century*, Calcutta 1919, p. 428.

author of several Vaiṣṇava works in Sanskrit and in Bengali, among which his Sanskrit commentary (entitled *Śabdārtha-bodhikā*) on Jīva Gosvāmin's *Gopāla-campū* has already been printed by Rāsavihārī Sāṅkhyatīrtha (Murshidabad 1910). The concluding verse of this commentary gives some details about Vīracandra's history. His genealogy from Nityānanda is given thus: Nityānanda > Vīrabhadra > Gopījana-vallabha > Rāmagovinda > Viśvambhara > Rāmeśvara > Nṛsiṃha > Baladeva > Kiśorī-mohana > Vīracandra. The commentary on the *Gopāla-campū* is stated to have been completed in Śaka 1800=1878 A.D. (युग्मशून्याष्टशुभ्रांशुमिते शाके)

Besides standard Vaiṣṇava works of the Bengal school, the present commentary on the *Padyāvalī* cites *Kuvalayānanda*, *Medinī-kośa*, *Hārāvalī* (lexicon) and even the very modern lexicographical compilation *Śabda-kalpadruma*. Apart from the importation of Vaiṣṇava theology, the interpretations are useful and illuminating, but in no way valuable. In one case, however, the commentator positively fails to interpret the passage in question (no. 284, l. 3), where unable to explain the word *anantā* (really meaning 'not bowing') as applied to Kṛṣṇa, he resorts to the trick

of fancifully explaining away the word.[1]

It is not necessary to speak in detail about this edition of the text which, even if sufficient for the purpose for which it was meant, can hardly be called a critical edition. It is obviously based upon insufficient manuscript material, but there is no indication of the character and extent of such material utilised. No variant readings have been given. In some places whole lines have been carelessly dropped in printing, and not enough care has been taken even in matters of spelling etc. The readings are sometimes not correct, nor even warranted by the available manuscripts ; and the reading of the text does not always correspond to that of the accompanying commentary.[2] It adopts continuous numbering of verses as well as separate numbering of the sections (as found in some Mss). We have dropped this separate numbering by sections, which is not uniformly given in all Mss, and have adopted continuous numbering of verses for greater facility of reference.

1 The Bengali translation correctly renders the word. Cf. *Kavīndra-vacana* no. 20 and notes thereon.

2 In many cases the commentary gives readings entirely different from those of the printed text. The commentator appears also to have access to more than one Ms of the text, and occasionally notices variant readings. These have been given in our critical notes.

We could not procure any Ms of the commentary, for all our sixteen Mss contain no commentary. The editing of this late commentary, however, would not have served any useful purpose. No other commentary on the *Padyāvalī* is known.

AKG = Edited in Bengali character by Atula Kṛṣṇa Gosvāmī. The copy lent to us by our friend Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarty is unfortunately without any title-page, and therefore the date and place of publication could not be ascertained. But Mr. Chakravarty later on supplied a full description of the Sanskrit title-page of this edition, which is as follows : श्रीश्रीकृष्णचैतन्यो जयति। श्रीश्रीपद्यावली। श्रीमद्रूपगोस्वामिना समाहृता। श्रीमन्नित्यानन्दप्रभुवंश्येन श्रीअतुलकृष्णगोस्वामिना सम्पादिता। १३ संख्यक आनटुनिवागानलेनस्थितात् गौडीयवैष्णवसम्मिलनीकार्यालयतः सम्पादकेनैव प्रकाशिता च। श्रीफाल्गुनीपूर्णिमा ; श्रीचैतन्याब्दाः ४३१ (=1916 A.D.), pp. 120. It contains the text only and no commentary. The names of the individual authors are given before, and not after (as in the Mss), the verses assigned to them. Verses which appeared doubtful or interpolated to the editor are apparently enclosed in brackets. No

variant readings are noted, nor are the sources of the text indicated anywhere. It is not a critical edition, but the printing is done here more carefully and correctly than in the edition noticed above. There are 388 verses consecutively numbered, excluding the preliminary and concluding verses of the compiler.

THE TEXT



॥ श्रीः ॥

श्रीश्रीराधाकृष्णाभ्यां नमः ॥

पद्यावली विरचिता रसिकैर्मुकुन्द-
सम्बन्धबन्धुरपदा प्रमदोर्मिसिन्धुः ।
रम्या समस्ततमसां दमनी क्रमेण
संगृह्यते कृतिकदम्बककौतुकाय ॥१॥

प्रारम्भे मङ्गलाचरणम्

नमो नलिननेत्राय वेणुवाद्यविनोदिने ।
राधाधरसुधापानशालिने वनमालिने ॥२॥

कस्यचित् ॥

1. Only one श्री in DA, ASC ; श्रीश्रीराधारमणाय नमः DB ; श्रीगुरवे नमः DD ; श्रीकृष्णाय नमः SSP, VSPA ; श्रीगान्धर्वा-गिरिधराभ्यां नमः TB ; नमः श्रीकृष्णाय IO ; ओं श्रीगणेशाय नमः PA, PB (without ओं) ; श्रीश्रीकृष्णः ASA.
5. समस्ततमसो PB ; दलनी PA.
7. ग्रन्थारम्भे ASB, PT ; ग्रन्थप्रारम्भे AKG ; only मङ्गलं PB ; the whole heading omitted in DC, PA, SSP ; ०मङ्गलाचरणानि IO, ASC.
10. The verse is unassigned in Comm.

भक्तिप्रह्वविलोकनप्रणयिनी नीलोत्पलस्पर्धिनी
ध्यानालम्बनतां समाधिनिरतैर्नीतेहितप्राप्तये ।
लावण्यैकमहानिधी रसिकतां राधादृशोस्तन्वती
युष्माकं कुरुतां भवार्तिशमनं नेत्रे तनुर्वा हरेः ॥३॥
सारङ्गस्य ॥

ये गोवर्धनमूलकर्दमरसव्यादष्टबर्हाङ्गदा
ये वृन्दावनकुक्षिषु व्रजवधुनीलोपधानानि च ।
ये चाभ्यङ्गसुगन्धयः कुवलयापीडस्य दानाम्भसा
ते वो मङ्गलमादिशन्तु सततं कंसद्विषो बाहवः ॥४॥
शुभाङ्कस्य ॥

1. PT reads before this verse: अथ भक्तानां प्रति आशीर्वादः। Cited in *KVS* 31 (unassigned) = *Sbhv* 43 (भागवतामृतदत्तस्य) = *SRBh* p. 16, no. 32 (भागवतामृतदत्तस्य); anonymously in various works on Alaṃkāra, *e.g.* *Kāvya-prakās'a* *ad* ix, 7 = Vāgbhaṭa's *Alaṃkāra-tilaka* p. 50 = *Alaṃkāra-śekhara* p. 159 = *Sāhitya-k.* *ad* xi, 8 = *Rasa-gaṅgādhara* p. 774 = Hemacandra p. 228 etc. Also cited in Jahlaṇa's *Sūkti-Muktāvalī* as अमृतदत्तस्य।
3. लावण्यस्य महा० *KVS, Sbhv* ; लावण्यैकसुधा० TB ; लक्ष्मीदृशो in all anthologies and Alaṃkāra-texts (excepting *Sāhitya-k.*)
4. भवार्तिहरणं *Sbhv* ; ०शमनी Hemacandra ; भयार्तिशमनं PA.
5. शारङ्गस्य TB, IO, ASC ; वाङ्गस्य (or राङ्गस्य) SSP.
6. Cited in *SKM* p. 76 (i, 293) as शुभाङ्गस्य। ०मूलकर्पूररस० PA ; ०व्यादिग्धबर्हा० AKG, ०व्याजुष्टबर्हा० TB, ०व्यायुष्टबर्हा० IO ; ०बर्हच्छदा *SKM.*
8. योगेऽभ्यङ्ग० SSP.
9. मङ्गलमाचरन्तु AKG.
10. शुभाङ्गस्य DB, DC, DD, TB, ASB, VSPB, Comm शुभङ्करस्य VSPA.

सायं व्यावर्तमानाखिलसुरभिकुलाह्वानसङ्केतनामा-
न्याभीरीवृन्दचेतोहठहरणकलासिद्धमन्त्राक्षराणि ।
सौभाग्यं वः समन्ताद्दधतु मधुभिदः केलिगोपालमूर्तेः
सानन्दाक्रुष्टवृन्दावनरसिकमृगश्रेणयो वेणुनादाः ॥५॥

हरस्य ॥

अथ श्रीकृष्णस्य महिमा

अम्भोधिः स्थलतां स्थलं जलधितां धुलीलवः शैलतां
शैलो मृत्कणतां तृणं कुलिशतां वज्रं तृणक्षीणताम् ।
वह्निः शीतलतां हिमं दहनतामायाति यस्येच्छया
लीलादुर्ललिताद्भुतव्यसनिने कृष्णाय तस्मै नमः ॥६॥

कस्यचित् ॥

1. Cited in *SKM*, p. 73 (उमापतिधरस्य) । व्यावर्त्यमाना॰ PB, Comm.
2. ॰हठकरण॰ PT, AKG. 4. स्वानन्दा॰ TB.
6. अथ omitted DA, DB, DC, PA, ASB, VSPA ; श्रीकृष्ण-महिमा AKG, IO, ASC, VSPB ; whole heading omitted PB.
7. Cited in *ŚP* 445 (unassigned)=*Sbhv* 3152 (unassigned)=*SRbh* p. 98, no 118 (क्षेमेन्द्रस्य) ।
8. तृणक्षीवताम् *ŚP*, *Sbhv* ; तृणप्रायताम् *SRbh*, PA.
10. हेलादुर्ललिता॰ PA ; ॰ललिताद्भवव्यसनिने SSP ; दैवाय for कृष्णाय *ŚP*, *Sbhv*, *SRbh* ; तुभ्यं for तस्मै TB.
11. श्रीमद्रूपगोस्वामिनां PB ; कस्यचित् । श्रीरूपगोस्वामिनां VSPB.

वात्सल्यादभयप्रदानसमयादार्तार्तिनिर्वापणा-
दौदार्यादघशोषणादगणितश्रेयःपदप्रापणात् ।
सेव्यः श्रीपतिरेव सर्वजगतामेते यतः साक्षिणः
प्रह्लादश्च विभीषणश्च करिराट् पाञ्चाल्यहल्या ध्रुवः ॥७॥
कस्यचित् ॥

अथ भजनमाहात्म्यम्

व्याधस्याचरणं ध्रुवस्य च वयो विद्या गजेन्द्रस्य का
कुब्जायाः किमु नाम रूपमधिकं किं तत् सुदाम्नो धनम् ।
वंशः को विदुरस्य यादवपतेरुग्रस्य किं पौरुषं
भक्त्या तुष्यति केवलं न च गुणैर्भक्तिप्रियो माधवः ॥८॥
दाक्षिणात्यस्य ॥

अनुचितमुचितं वा कर्म कोऽयं विभागो
भगवति परमास्तां भक्तियोगो द्रढीयान् ।

3. जगत्साक्षिणः PB.
6. अथ omitted DA, DD ; श्रीकृष्णस्य भजन॰ PT ; the whole heading omitted ASC ; only भजनं PB.
7. Cited in *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* anonymously, p. 1334 (ed. Berhampore).
8. कमनीयरूप॰ PB ; किं वा सुदाम्नो IO, ASB ; तत् किं सुदाम्नो DC, TB, VSPA.
10. न तु गुणै॰ DC, PA, TB, VSPA ; भक्तप्रियो DA, PB.
11. कस्यचिद्दाक्षिणात्यस्य IO, ASB ; only कस्यचित् PB, AKG ; दाक्षिणात्यस्य कस्यचित् VSPB.
13. भवति परममास्तां PB.

किरति विषमहीन्द्रः सान्द्रपीयूषमिन्दु-
र्द्वयमपि स महेशो निर्विशेषं बिभर्ति ॥९॥

श्रीविष्णुपुरीपादानाम् ॥

यदि मधुमथन त्वङ्घ्रि सेवां
हृदि विदधाति जहाति वा विवेकी ।
तदखिलमपि दुष्कृतं त्रिलोके
कृतमकृतं न-कृतं कृतं च सर्वम् ॥१०॥

तेषामेव ॥

काषायान्न च भोजनादिनियमान्नो वा वने वासतो
व्याख्यानादथ वा मुनिव्रतभराच्चित्तोद्भवः क्षीयते ।
किं तु स्फीतकलिन्दशैलतनयातीरेषु विक्रीडतो
गोविन्दस्य पदारविन्दभजनारम्भस्य लेशादपि ॥११॥

कस्यचित् ॥

3. श्री omitted IO, ASB ; ०पुरीश्रीपादानां DA, DD, TB, IO, ASB, VSPA ; only श्रीविष्णुपुरी PB.

5. वाविवेकी Comm, DD, IO ; वा dropped in ASC.

6. दुष्कृतं corrected into यवतः PA.

7. For न-कृतं, PA reads छकृतं, but some Mss read न कृतं separately ; these two words dropped SSP, ASC ; IO reads the line as कृतमकृतं वा न कृतं कृतं सर्वम् ।

8. Unassigned PB.

9. रागतो for वासतो IO.

10. ०व्रतभवाच्चित्तो० DA, PB ; ०व्रतधरा० DB.

12. लेशाद्यथा PB. 13. कस्यचित् । श्रीपण्डितगोस्वामिनः VSPB.

अलमलमियमेव प्राणिनां पातकानां
निरसनविषये या कृष्ण कृष्णेति वाणी ।
यदि भवति मुकुन्दे भक्तिरानन्दसान्द्रा
विलुठति चरणाब्जे मोक्षसाम्राज्यलक्ष्मीः ॥१२॥

सर्वज्ञस्य ॥

अथ प्रेम्णः सौभाग्यम्

नानोपचारकृतपूजनमार्तबन्धोः
प्रेम्णैव भक्तहृदयं सुखविद्रुतं स्यात् ।
यावत् क्षुदस्ति जठरे जरठा पिपासा
तावत् सुखाय भवतो ननु भक्ष्यपेये ॥१३॥

श्रीरामानन्दरायस्य ॥

कृष्णभक्तिरसभाविता मतिः
क्रीयतां यदि कुतोऽपि लभ्यते ।
तत्र मूल्यमपि लौल्यमेकलं
जन्मकोटिसुकृतैर्न लभ्यते ॥१४॥

कस्यचित् ॥

1. This line is read as third *pāda* of the verse in PT.
5. Unassigned SSP, ASA.
6. अथ omitted DB ; the whole heading omitted in PB. 7. ०पूजनमात्मबन्धोः SSP.
8. सत्त for भक्त SSP ; प्रेमैव भक्तहृदये सुखविद्र तस्य PA.
9. क्षुधास्ति जठरे जठरे PA. 10. न तु भक्ष्य० PB.
11. श्रीरायरामानन्दस्य DB, DC, VSPA ; श्रीरामानन्दस्य DD, ASC, PT ; रामानन्दराजस्य PB.
12. ०रसवासिता DD, SSP. 13. कुतो न PA; ०पि dropped DC.
14. तत्र मौल्यमपि PB, AKG. 16. Unassigned IO, ASC.

ज्ञानमस्ति तुलितं च तुलायां
प्रेम नैव तुलितं तु तुलायाम्।
सिद्धिरेव तुलितात्र तुलायां
कृष्णनाम तुलितं न तुलायाम् ॥१५॥

श्रीधरस्वामिपादानाम् ॥

अथ नाममाहात्म्यम्

अंहः संहरदखिलं सकृदुदयादेव सकललोकस्य ।
तरणिरिव तिमिरजलधिं जयति जगन्मङ्गलं हरेर्नाम ॥१६॥

श्रीलक्ष्मीधराणाम् ॥

चतुर्णां वेदानां हृदयमिदमाकृष्य हरिणा
चतुर्भिर्यद्वर्णैः स्फुटमघटि नारायणपदम् ।
तदेतद्गायन्तो वयमनिशमात्मानमधुना
पुनीमो जानीमो न हरिपरितोषाय किमपि ॥१७॥

कस्यचित् ॥

1. तु for च PA, SSP, ASA.
3. तुलिता तु DD. This line occurs as the second *pāda* in SSP. 5. श्रीधरस्वामिनां PB, AKG, ASC.
6. अथ omitted DD, VSPA, VSPB ; the whole heading missing PB, ASC.
7. From Lakṣmīdhara's *Bhagavan-nāma-kaumudī* (ed. Benares), p. 1 = Kṛṣṇadāsa's *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, Antya iii, 180 (anonymously). अंघः for अंहः SSP, ASA ; सकृदुच्चरयादेव PB ; सकृदुदयादिव VSPB.
8. तरणिवितरणिजलधिं PB.
9. श्री omitted DD, PB ; श्रीधराणां PT, Comm.
10. विधिना for हरिणा PB (DC notes this reading on the margin).

योगश्रुत्युपपत्तिनिर्जनवनध्यानाध्वसम्भावित-
स्वाराज्यं प्रतिपद्य निर्भयममी मुक्ता भवन्तु द्विजाः ।
अस्माकं तु कदम्बकुञ्जकुहरप्रोन्मीलदिन्दीवर-
श्यामश्यामलधामनाम जुषतां जन्मास्तु लक्षावधि ॥१८॥
श्रीमदीश्वरपुरीपादानाम् ॥

कल्याणानां निधानं कलिमलमथनं पावनं पावनानां
पाथेयं यन्मुमुक्षोः सपदि परपदप्राप्तये प्रोच्यमानम् ।
विश्रामस्थानमेकं कविवरवचसां जीवनं सज्जनानां
बीजं धर्मद्रुमस्य प्रभवतु भवतां भूतये कृष्णनाम ॥१९॥
कस्यचित् ॥

वेपन्ते दुरितानि मोहमहिमा सम्मोहमालम्बते
सातङ्कं नखरञ्जनीं कलयति श्रीचित्रगुप्तः कृती ।

1. ०सम्भाविताः DC, PT, VSPB ; सम्भावितं DD, SSP, ASA, ASB. 2. प्रतिपाद्य ASB, PT, VSPB.
4. श्रेणीश्यामल० DD, PA, PB ; श्यामलनामधाम DA, PA, PB, VSPB.
5. ०पुरीश्रीपादानां DA, DD, TB, VSPA, VSPB ; unassigned PB.
6. Occurs in *Mahānāṭaka* (Dāmodara i, 1=Madhusūdana i, 8). The *v.l.* noted from the various Mss of the drama are : निदानं, ०प्राप्तये प्रस्थितस्य, धर्मद्रुमाणां and the invariable रामनाम ।
6. निदानं DB, DC, IO, Comm, ASB, ASC (both reading in two places respectively, at fol. 2 and fol. 37), VSPA, VSPB. 7. ०प्राप्तये प्रस्थितस्य DA, DB, PA.
9. कर्मद्रुमस्य DB ; रामनाम PA, PB.
12. मपिरञ्जनीं PB ; कलयते DA, DB, DC, TB, IO, ASC, (fol. 2 but कलयति on fol. 37).

सानन्दं मधुपर्कसम्भृतिविधौ वेधाः करोत्युद्यमं
वक्तुं नाम्नि तवेश्वराभिलषिते ब्रूमः किमन्यत् परम् ॥२०॥
कस्यचित् ॥

कः परेतनगरीपुरन्दरः
को भवेदथ तदीयकिङ्करः ।
कृष्णनाम जगदेकमङ्गलं
कण्ठपीठमुररीकरोति चेत् ॥२१॥
आनन्दाचार्यस्य ॥

चेतोदर्पणमार्जनं भवमहादावाग्निनिर्वापणं
श्रेयःकैरवचन्द्रिकावितरणं विद्यावधूजीवनम् ।
आनन्दाम्बुधिवर्धनं प्रतिपदं पूर्णामृतास्वादनं
सर्वात्मस्नपनं परं विजयते श्रीकृष्णसङ्कीर्तनम् ॥२२॥
श्रीभगवतः ॥

1. ०सम्भृतविधौ DD ; ०सम्भृतविधोः PT but ०विधौ in Comm ; धाता for वेधाः DB ; स्वयं सजते for करोत्युद्यमं IO, ASC (fol. 3, but not in fol. 37).
2. नाम for नाम्नि DA ; भवेश्वरा० AKG.
3. आनन्दाचार्यस्य VSPA.
8. श्रीआनन्दा० SSP, ASA ; कस्यचित् VSPA.
11. प्रेमामृतास्वादनं SSP, ASA.
13. Cited in Kṛṣṇadāsa's *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, Antya, xx, 12, as Caitanya's. श्रीश्री० DA, DB, DC, PT, VSPA, VSPB ; श्रीमद्भागवते ASB ; ASC reads (fol. 37 but not in fol. 3 where श्रीभगवतः only) श्रीभगवतः श्रीकृष्णचैतन्यदेवस्य ।

ब्रह्माण्डानां कोटिसंख्याधिकाना-
मैश्वर्यं यच्चेतना वा यदंशः ।
आविर्भूतं तन्महः कृष्णनाम
तन्मे साध्यं साधनं जीवनं च ।।२३।।
केषाञ्चित् ।।

विष्णोर्नामैव पुंसः शमलमपहरत् पुण्यमुत्पादयच्च
ब्रह्मादिस्थानभोगाद्विरतिमथ गुरुश्रीपदद्वन्द्वभक्तिम् ।
तत्त्वज्ञानं च विष्णोरिह मृतिजननभ्रान्तिबीजं च दग्धा
सम्पूर्णानन्दबोधे महति च पुरुषं स्थापयित्वा निवृत्तम् ।।२४।।
श्रीभगवद्व्यासपादानाम् ।।

नामचिन्तामणिः कृष्णश्चैतन्यरसविग्रहः ।
पूर्णः शुद्धो नित्यमुक्तोऽभिन्नत्वान्नामनामिनोः ।।२५।।
तेषामेव ।।

2. या for वा PA, PB.
6. पुंसां for पुंसः PT only.
7. गुरोः श्रीपद॰ PA, IO, ASC, AKG, PT ; गुरोः श्रीपदाम्भोज॰ DD.
8. मृतिजननं DD, PB, TB, IO, ASC.
9. महसि for महति PA ; पुरुषे DA, DD, TB, IO, ASC.
10. श्रीभगवद् omitted DC ; श्रीमद्भगवद्व्यास॰ VSPA.
11. Cited in Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* (ed. Berhampore), p. 143 (यथा पाद्मे) = *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* p. 1292 (anonymously).
13. एषामेव DA, DB, VSPA.

मधुरमधुरमेतन्मङ्गलं मङ्गलानां
सकलनिगमवल्लीसत्फलं चित्स्वरूपम् ।
सकृदपि परिगीतं श्रद्धया हेलया वा
भृगुवर नरमात्रं तारयेत् कृष्णनाम ॥२६॥
अमीषामेव ॥

स्वर्गार्थीया व्यवसितिरसौ दीनयत्येव लोकान्
मोक्षापेक्षा जनयति जनं केवलं क्लेशभाजम् ।
योगोद्योगः परमविरसस्तादृशैः किं प्रयासैः
सर्वं त्यक्त्वा मम तु रसना कृष्ण कृष्णेति रौतु ॥२७॥
कस्यचित् ॥

सदा सर्वत्रास्ते ननु विमलमाद्यं तव पदं
तथाप्येकं स्तोकं न हि भवतरोः पत्रमभिनत् ।
क्षणं जिह्वाग्रस्थं तव तु भगवन्नाम निखिलं

1. Cited in *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* p. 1273 (प्रभासखण्डे), = *Tattva-sandarbha*, p. 12, ed. Nitya-svarūpa (प्रभासखण्डे).
5. तेषामेव DC, PB, Comm.
8. योगाभ्यासः परम॰ DC, DB, SSP, IO, ASA, VSPA, PT, Comm ; तादृशे किं DA ; परमविरसैस्तादृशैः VSPB.
9. यदि तु रसना PB, VSPB ; रौति PB, VSPB.
11. विमलानद्यं PT only ; महः for पदं PB.
13. जिह्वाग्रस्तं DB, DC, PB, SSP, ASA, ASB, ASC (fol. 37, but not in fol. 3), PT ; भवतु DB, DC, IO, ASA, ASC, VSPA ; तव तु for तव तु, PT ; जिह्वाग्र संभवतु VSPB.

समूल संसारं कषति कतरत् सेव्यमनयोः ।।२८।।

श्रीधरस्वामिपादानाम् ।।

आकृष्टिः कृतचेतसां सुमहतामुच्चाटनं चांहसा-
माचण्डालममूकलोकसुलभो वश्यश्च मोक्षश्रियः ।
नो दीक्षां न च दक्षिणां न च पुरश्चर्यां मनागीक्षते
मन्त्रोऽयं रसनास्पृगेव फलति श्रीकृष्णनामात्मकः ।।२९।।

श्रीलक्ष्मीधराणाम् ।।

विधेयानि विचार्याणि विचिन्त्यानि पुनः पुनः ।

1. दहति for कषति PB ; किरति VSPB.
2. श्रीधरस्वामिनां DA, DB, DC, PB, VSPA, Comm ; °स्वामिश्रीपादानां DD ; श्रीस्वामिपादानां SSP, ASA ; unassigned ASC (in fol. 37, but not in fol. 3).
3. आकृष्टीकृत° AKG, PT, Comm. The verse is from *Bhagavan-nāma kaumudī* (ed. Benares) p. 133 = *Subhāṣita-hārāvali* of Hari Kavi (लक्ष्मीधरस्य fol. 18a) = Kṛṣṇadāsa's *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* Madhya xv, 110 (anonymously). 4. मोक्षाश्रयः Comm.
5. दीक्षां न च सत्क्रियां DC, ASB, Comm, PT.
6. श्रीरामनामात्मकः *Bhagavan-nāma°*, VSPA, VSPB, ASC, IO, PB (DA writes the word राम just above the word कृष्ण).
7. श्री omitted DD, IO, AKG, ASC.
8. विधेयानि विचिन्त्यानि विचार्याणि VSPB.

कृपणस्य धनानीव त्वन्नामानि भवन्तु नः ॥३०॥
भवानन्दस्य ॥

नाम्नामकारि बहुधा निजसर्वशक्ति-
स्तत्रार्पिता नियमितः स्मरणे न कालः ।
एतादृशी तव कृपा भगवन्ममापि
दुर्दैवमीदृशमिहाजनि नानुरागः ॥३१॥
श्रीभगवतः ॥

1. तन्नामानि DD, AKG.
2. कस्यचित् DA, DD, IO, SSP, PA, ASA, ASB, ASC ; कस्यचित् । श्रीभवानन्दस्य VSPB.
3. Cited in *Sbhv* 3481 as मधुसूदनस्य = Kṛṣṇadāsa's *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, Antya xx, 16, as Caitanya's. बहुता for बहुधा PA, PB, SSP, ASA, AKG, *Sbhv*. The grammatical construction of the sentence as given in the text is peculiar ; but the reading बहुता is not supported by the best Mss and is obviously an emendation. The commentator appears to be conscious of the difficulty and explains : नाम्नां बहुधा (बहुता ?) बहुप्रकारोऽकारि, कस्मिन् कस्मिन् कस्यामि-रुचिर्जायतामित्येतदर्थः । यद्वा, नित्यसिद्धानां नाम्नां कत्र्यासम्भवादेवं वा व्याख्येयम्—भवता नाम्नां बहुधा प्रकाशोऽभूत्, कृञ् धातोरर्थान्तर-वृत्तित्वेनाकर्मकत्वादतो भावे प्रत्ययः ॥
4. स्तत्रार्पिता विरचितः स्मरणे VSPB.
5. भगवंस्तथापि *Sbhv* ; कृपा मम चेन्मुकुन्द DD.
6. ०मीदृशमहो जनितानुरागः PB.
7. श्रीश्री० DB, IO, TB, ASC, PT, VSPA, VSPB.

अथ नामकीर्तनम्

तृणादपि सुनीचेन तरोरपि सहिष्णुना ।
अमानिना मानदेन कीर्तनीयः सदा हरिः ॥३२॥
श्रीभगवतः ॥

श्रीरामेति जनार्दनेति जगतां नाथेति नारायणे-
त्यानन्देति दयापरेति कमलाकान्तेति कृष्णेति च ।
श्रीमन्नाममहामृताब्धिलहरीकल्लोलमग्नं मुहु-
र्मुह्यन्तं गलदश्रुनेत्रमवशं मां नाथ नित्यं कुरु ॥३३॥
श्रीलक्ष्मीधराणाम् ॥

1. अथ omitted DD, which reads कृष्णनामसङ्कीर्तनं ; अथ कृष्णनामसङ्कीर्तनं IO, ASC ; अथ श्रीकृष्णनामसङ्कीर्तनं PA, SSP ; अथ नामसङ्कीर्तनं TB, AKG, ASB, VSPB, VSPA ; अथ श्रीकृष्णनाममाहात्म्यं ASA ; the heading entirely omitted PB.
2. Cited in Kṛṣṇadāsa's *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, Antya, xx, 21 as Caitanya's ; cited in *Bhakti-sandarbha* p. 619 with यथोपदिष्टं कलियुगपावनावतारेण श्रीभगवता ।— च नीचेन DA, PA, PB ; तरोरिव DB, DC, VSPB, ASB, AKG, PT ; तितिक्षुणा for सहिष्णुना DA, DB, PA, VSPA.
4. श्रीश्री० DB, DC, TB, PT, VSPA, VSPB ; तस्यैव PB.
5. Occurs in *Bhagavan-nāma-k*. p. 58, 134 = *Subhāṣita-hārāvali*, fol. 12, 236. (लक्ष्मीधरस्य) ।
9. श्री omitted DD.

आक्रान्त कृष्ण करुणामय कञ्जनाभ
कैवल्यवल्लभ मुकुन्द मुरान्तकेति ।
नामावलीं विमलमौक्तिकहारलक्ष्मी-
लावण्यवञ्चनकरीं करवाणि कण्ठे ॥३४॥
तेषामेव ॥

कृष्ण राम मुकुन्द वामन वासुदेव जगद्गुरो
मत्स्य कच्छप नारसिंह वराह राघव पाहि माम ।
देवदानवनारदादिमुनीन्द्रवन्द्य दयानिधे
देवकीसुत देहि मे तव पादभक्तिमचञ्चलाम ॥३५॥
कस्यचित् ॥

हे गोपालक हे कृपाजलनिधे हे सिन्धुकन्यापते
हे कंसान्तक हे गजेन्द्रकरुणापारीण हे माधव ।
हे रामानुज हे जगत्त्रयगुरो हे पुण्डरीकाक्ष मां
हे गोपीजननाथ पालय परं जानामि न त्वां विना ॥३६॥
श्रीवैष्णवस्य ॥

1. Occurs in *Bhagavan-nāma-k.*, p. 31.
3. ०विरलमौक्तिक० ASA ; ०हारलक्ष्म *Bhagavan-nāma*०.
4. लावण्यबन्धनवर्तीं *ibid* ; करवाम कण्ठे DB, DC, PT, Comm, VSPA.
5. तस्यैव SSP, ASA.
6. Cited anonymously in *Hari-bhakti-v.* pp. 808-9. This verse is omitted PA.
7. रक्ष for पाहि DD.
14. जानामि न त्वत्परम् PB. 15. श्रीवत्सस्य PA.

श्रीनारायण पुण्डरीकनयन श्रीराम सीतापते
गोविन्दाच्युत नन्दनन्दन मुकुन्दानन्द दामोदर ।
विष्णो राघव वासुदेव नृहरे देवेन्द्रचूडामणे
संसारार्णवकर्णधारक हरे श्रीकृष्ण तुभ्यं नमः ॥३७॥

तस्यैव ॥

भाण्डीरेश शिखण्डमण्डन वर श्रीखण्डलिप्ताङ्ग हे
वृन्दारण्यपुरन्दर स्फुरदमन्देन्दीवरश्यामल ।
कालिन्दीप्रिय नन्दनन्दन परानन्दारविन्देक्षण
श्रीगोविन्द मुकुन्द सुन्दरतनो मां दीनमानन्दय ॥३८॥

श्रीगोपालभट्टानाम् ॥

2. मुकुन्दानन्दन PT ; PB reads instead हरे गोपाल ; मुकुन्दानन्त VSPB.

4. ०कर्णधार कुहरे Comm (कुहरे explained as कुं पापं हरतीति तथाभूत).

5. कस्यचित् PT only ; श्रीवैष्णवस्य Comm. ; unassigned DC ; DD adds अष्टादश before तस्यैव (referring to the 18 names in the verse).

6. हे भाण्डीरेश शिखण्डखण्डन PT only ; शिखण्डमण्डनधर DC, PA, VSPB. DB and DC read immediately before this verse :

मुकुन्द विष्णो जगदीश शौरे
प्रभो हरे माधव दीननाथ ।
अनाथनाथाच्युत वासुदेव
भवाब्धिपारं कुरु मामनाथम् ॥ श्रीकृष्णदेवशर्मणः ॥

DC omitting the name of the author.

10. ०भट्टस्य PA ; ०भट्टपादानां DB, SSP, ASA, VSPA ; श्रीमद्रूपगोस्वामिनां PB ; समाहर्तुः IO, ASC, DD (adding द्वादश before it).

अथ श्रीकृष्णकथामाहात्म्यम्

श्रुतमप्यौपनिषदं दूरे हरिकथामृतात् ।
यत्र सन्ति द्रवच्चित्तकम्पाश्रुपुलकोद्गमाः ॥३९॥
श्रीभगवद्व्यासपादानाम् ॥

नैव दिव्यसुखभोगमर्थये
नापवर्गमपि नाथ कामये ।
यान्तु कर्णविवरं दिने दिने
कृष्णकेलिचरितामृतानि मे ॥४०॥
कविरत्नस्य ॥

अहो अहोभिर्न कलेर्विदूयते
सुधासुधारामधुरं पदे पदे ।
दिने दिने चन्दनचन्द्रशीतलं
यशो यशोदातनयस्य गीयते ॥४१॥
तस्यैव ॥

1. अथ omitted DD ; श्रीकृष्णस्य DA, DB, VSPA ; कृष्णस्य DC ; कथामहिमा DB ; श्रीकथामाहात्म्यं VSPB ; the whole heading omitted PB.
2. Cited in *Bhakti-sandarbha* p. 477 with गीतं कलियुगपावनावतारेण श्रीभगवता ।—श्रुतमप्युपनिषदं DD.
3. ०पुलकादयः PT only.
4. ०पादा० omitted AKG ; श्री omitted PB.
6. नाम for नाथ PA, PB.
8. ०केलिचरितानि मे IO, SSP, ASA, ASC.
9. कविराजस्य PB.
11. सुधाम्बुधारामधुरं DD.

नन्दनन्दनकैशोरलीलामृतमहाम्बुधौ ।
निमग्नानां किमस्माकं निर्वाणलवणाम्भसा ॥४२॥

यादवेन्द्रपुरीपादानाम् ॥

त्वत्कथामृतपाथोधौ विहरन्तो महामुदः ।
कुर्वन्ति कृतिनः केचिच्चतुर्वर्गं तृणोपमम् ॥४३॥

श्रीधरस्वामिपादानाम् ॥

तत्रैव गङ्गा यमुना च तत्र
गोदावरी तत्र सरस्वती च ।
सर्वाणि तीर्थानि वसन्ति तत्र
यत्राच्युतोदारकथाप्रसङ्गः ॥४४॥

कस्यचित् ॥

या मुक्तिलक्ष्मीर्भुवि कामुकानां
या मुक्तिलक्ष्मीर्हृदि योगभाजाम् ।

1. ॰महार्णवे IO, ASC ; महोदधौ DD.
3. श्रीयादवेन्द्र॰ SSP, ASA, VSPB ; ॰पुरीणां DA, DB, DC, TB, AKG, VSPA, PT ; ॰पुरीश्रीपादानां PA, IO, ASC, AKG ; यादवेन्द्रश्रीपादानां PB.
4. Cited in *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu*, p. 27 (तथा भावार्थदीपिकायाम्). This verse is omitted in PB.
6. ॰स्वामिनः PA ; ॰स्वामिनां DA, DB, DC, Comm ; श्रीस्वामिपादानां SSP, ASA ; unassigned DD.
7. For a similar verse see *Padma-Purāṇa* (ed. Ānandāśrama), uttara-khaṇḍa, vi, ch. 73, śl. 11.
९. सिन्धुः PA ; सिन्धु PB.
12. या मुक्ति॰ SSP ; या भक्ति॰ ASB ; कामुकानां corrected into भावुकानां ASA. ASB drops all words from भुवि to मुक्तिलक्ष्मी॰.

यानन्दलक्ष्मी रसिकेन्द्रमौलेः
सा कापि लीलावतु माधवस्य ।।४५।।
श्रीशङ्करस्य ।।

अथ ध्यानम्

फुल्लेन्दीवरकान्तिमिन्दुवदनं वर्हावतंसप्रियं
श्रीवत्साङ्कमुदारकौस्तुभधरं पीताम्वरं सुन्दरम् ।
गोपीनां नयनोत्पलार्चिततनुं गोगोपसङ्घावृतं
गोविन्दं कलवेणुवादनपरं दिव्याङ्गभूषं भजे ।।४६।।
शारदाकारस्य ।।

अंसालम्वितवामकुण्डलधरं मन्दोन्नतभ्रूलतं
किञ्चित्कुञ्चितकोमलाधरपुटं साचिप्रसारेक्षणम् ।

3. श्री० omitted SSP, AKG ; श्रीशङ्कराचार्यस्य PB, VSPB ; unassigned IO, ASC.

4. अथ omitted DD, PA, which read श्रीकृष्णाध्यानम् ; अथ श्रीकृष्णाध्यानम् SSP, IO, ASA, ASC, AKG.

5. Cited anonymously in *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, i, p. 190. ०वरमिन्दुकान्तिवदनं PB.

9. The name prefixed by श्री० DA, DB, DC, TB, VSPA, PT ; the name spelt as सारदाकारस्य DB, TB, ASC, IO, VSPA ; श्रीसारदारकस्य DC ; शारदकारस्य AKG ; unassigned PB.

10. Cited in *SRbh* p. 26, no. 182 (anonymously).

11. ०प्रसारीक्षणम् PB, *SRbh*.

आलोलाङ्गुलिपल्लवैर्मुरलिकामापूरयन्तं मुदा
मूले कल्पतरोस्त्रिभङ्गललितं ध्यायेज्जगन्मोहनम् ॥४७॥
कस्यचित् ॥

अधरे विनिहितवंशं चम्पककुसुमेन कल्पितोत्तंसम् ।
विनतं दधानमंसं वामं सततं नमामि जितकंसम् ॥४८॥
पुरुषोत्तमदेवस्य ॥

व्यत्यस्तपादकमलं ललितत्रिभङ्गी-
सौभाग्यमंसविरलीकृतकेशपाशम् ।
पिञ्छावतंसमुररीकृतवंशनाल-
मव्याजमोहनमुपैमि कृपाविशेषम् ॥ ४९ ॥
कस्यचित् ॥

3. श्रीनारदस्य DB, DC, SSP, ASA, VSPA ; पुरुषोत्तमदेवस्य Comm ; unassigned DD.
4. विकल्पितोत्तंसं AKG ; विरचितोत्तंसं DD, ASB, ASC, PA, IO, VSPB ; कम्पितोत्तंसं PT.
5. विनतालकपिहितमंसं सततं नमामि PA ; वामं dropped ASB ; बालं नमामि सततं AKG.
6. श्री० prefixed to the name SSP, TB, ASA ; कस्यचित् Comm.
7. PT and Comm read this verse before no. 48. विन्यस्तपाद० PA ; बलित० PB, ललितं DC ; त्रिभङ्ग० DC, ASA.
9. पिच्छा० ASA, VSPB.
10. ०मोहनमुपैति VSPB.
11. तस्यैव (i. e. पुरुषोत्तमदेवस्य) AKG ; श्रीनारदस्य PT, Comm.

अथ भक्तवात्सल्यम्

अतन्द्रितचमूपतिप्रहितहस्तमस्वीकृत-
प्रणीतमणिपादुकं किमिति विस्मितान्तःपुरम् ।
अवाहनपरिष्क्रियं पतगराजमारोहतः
करिप्रवरबृंहिते भगवतस्त्वरायै नमः ॥५०॥

दाक्षिणात्यस्य ॥

1. DB and DC read before this an additional verse :

   बर्हापीडाभिरामं मृगमदतिलकं कुन्तला[v.l. कुण्डला]क्रान्तगण्डं
   कञ्जाक्षं कम्बुकण्ठं स्मितसुभगमुखं स्वाधरे न्यस्तवेणुम् ।
   श्यामं शान्तं त्रिभङ्गं रविकरवसनं भूषितं वैजयन्त्या
   वन्दे वृन्दावनस्थं युवतिशतवृतं ब्रह्म गोपालवेशम् ॥ कस्यचित् ॥

1. अथ omitted PA, DD ; श्रीकृष्णस्य भक्त० PA, IO, SSP, ASA, VSPB, AKG ; कृष्णस्य भक्त० ASC ; भजनवात्सल्यम् PT ; भजनमाहात्म्यं DD ; the whole heading omitted PB.
2. Cited anonymously in *SRbh* p. 15. no. 24. DD reads अतर्कित० but corrects it into अतन्द्रित० ; अनादृत० *SRbh* ; अतन्त्रित० PT, ASA, ASB.
3. प्रणीतमपि पादुकं PB ; विस्मृतान्तःपुरं PT, AKG, Comm. ASC drops all words from ०हस्त० to ०बृंहिते ।
4. अवाहनपरिच्छदं PT ; अवाहनपरिच्छायं PB
5. करिप्रकर० PT.
6. श्री prefixed to the name PA.

द्रौपदीत्राणे तद्वाक्यम्

तमसि रविरिवोद्यन्मज्जतामप्लवानां
प्लव इव तृषितानां स्वादुवर्षीव मेघः ।
निधिरिव निधनानां तीव्रदुःखामयानां
भिषगिव कुशलं नो दातुमायाति शौरिः ॥५१॥

श्रीमद्व्यासपादानाम् ॥

अथ भक्तानां माहात्म्यम्

प्रह्लादनारदपराशरपुण्डरीक-
व्यासाम्बरीषशुकशौनकभीष्मदाल्भ्यान् ।

1. तद् omitted AKG ; the whole heading omitted PB, ASB. After this heading IO, ASB, ASC read या त्वरा द्रौपदीत्राणे etc. (no. 63) with तस्यैव (i. e. दाक्षिणात्यस्य), although the verse is again read later on in its proper place.
3. तृषितानां बर्हिणां वर्षमेघः PA.
5. दातुमायातु DD.
6. श्रीव्यास० DA, DB, VSPA, VSPB, ASB, TB, PT ; व्यासपादानां PB ; unassigned DC.
7. अथ omitted DB, DD, PB ; तद्भक्तानां PT, Comm, AKG ; विभक्तानां DC ; the whole heading omitted PB.

रुक्माङ्गदोद्धवविभीषणफाल्गुनादीन्
पुण्यानिमान् परमभागवतान्नमामि ॥५२॥

दाक्षिणात्यस्य ॥

श्रीविष्णोः श्रवणे परीक्षिदवभद् वैयासकिः कीर्तने
प्रह्लादः स्मरणे पदाब्जभजने लक्ष्मीः पृथुः पूजने ।
अक्रूरस्त्वभिवन्दने कपिपतिर्दास्येऽथ सख्येऽर्जुनः
सर्वस्वात्मनिवेदने बलिरभूत् कृष्णाप्तिरेषा परम् ॥५३॥

- कस्यचित् ॥

तेभ्यो नमोऽस्तु भववारिधिजीर्णपङ्क-
सम्मग्नमोक्षणविचक्षणपादुकेभ्यः ।

3. श्रीवैष्णवस्य DB, DC, PB, VSPA, PT, Comm ; दाक्षिणात्यश्रीवैष्णवस्य DD, PA, VSPB ; दाक्षिणात्यस्य श्रीवैष्णवस्य IO, ASC.

4. Cited in *Bhakti-rasāmṛta°* p. 160 (यथा ग्रन्थान्तरे)= *Bhakti-sandarbha* p. 541 (उदाहृतानि चैतानि प्राचीनैः) =Kṛṣṇadāsa's *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, Madhya xxii, 131 (anonymously). The grammatical construction with अभवत् in the first line and अभूत् in the last is peculiar.

5. तदङ्घ्रिभजने DB, DC, SSP, ASA, ASB, PA, PB, PT, AKG, VSPA, VSPB.

6. दास्ये च PA.

7. बलिरभूद् भक्तः कथं वर्ण्यते PB ; परा for परम् PA, DD, SSP, IO, ASA, ASC, VSPB.

9. Cited in *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, p. 1292 (anonymously).

10. संलग्नमोक्षण° PT, AKG.

कृष्णेति वर्णयुगलश्रवणेन येषा-
मानन्दथुर्भवति नर्तितरोमवृन्दः ॥५४॥
औत्कलस्य ॥

हरिस्मृत्याह्लादस्तिमितमनसो यस्य कृतिनः
सरोमाञ्चः कायो नयनमपि सानन्दसलिलम् ।
तमेवाचन्द्रार्कं वह पुरुषधौरेयमवने
किमन्यैस्ते भारैर्यमसदनगत्यागतिपरैः ॥५५॥
सर्वानन्दस्य ॥

तद्भक्तः सरितां पतिं चुलुकवत् खद्योतवद्भास्करं
मेरुं पश्यति लोष्ट्रवत् किमपरं भूमेः पतिं भृत्यवत् ।
चिन्तारत्नचयं शिलाशकलवत् कल्पद्रुमं काष्ठवत्
संसारं तृणराशिवत् किमपरं देहं निजं भारवत् ॥५६॥
सर्वज्ञस्य ॥

मीमांसारजसा मलीमसदृशां तावन्न धीरीश्वरे
गर्वोदर्ककुतर्ककर्कशधियां दूरेऽपि वार्ता हरेः ।

2. नृत्यति रोमवृन्दम् PT, Comm ; नर्तितरोमवृन्दम् PB.
3. कस्यचित् DD.
4. हरिस्मृत्यालाप० DC ; ०स्तिमितमनसा DC, ASB.
7. किमन्यैस्ते भारो PA ; किमन्यैस्तैर्भारै० DB, DC, DD, ASA, ASB, SSP, AKG, PT, VSPB.
9. चुलकवत् DD, PA, SSP, ASA ; चलुकवत् DC.
12. तृणराशिवद् रतिवहं देहं निजं भागवत् PB.
15. गर्वोदग्र० AKG.

जानन्तोऽपि न जानते श्रुतिसुखं श्रीरङ्गिसङ्गाद्दते
सुस्वादुं परिवेषयन्त्यपि रसं गुर्वी न दर्वी स्पृशेत् ॥५७॥
श्रीमाधवसरस्वतीनाम् ॥

ज्ञानावलम्बकाः केचित् केचित् कर्मावलम्बकाः ।
वयं तु हरिदासानां पादत्राणावलम्बकाः ॥५८॥
कस्यचित् ॥

अथ तेषां दैन्योक्तिः

नामानि प्रणयेन ते सुकृतिनां तन्वन्ति तुण्डोत्सवं
धामानि प्रथयन्ति हन्त जलदश्यामानि नेत्राञ्जनम् ।

1. श्रीरङ्ग॰ DA, PA. The Ms DE (fol. 7a) begins from ॰रङ्गिसङ्गाद्दते ।
2. सुस्वादं DC, PB, TB ; परिवेशयन्त्यपि ASA, TB, VSPA, VSPB ; परिवेसयन्त्यपि DC ; परिवेष्टयन्त्यपि DB, PA.
3. श्री omitted DA ; श्रीमाधवसरस्वतीश्रीपादानां IO, ASC, AKG ; श्रीमाधवपुरीश्रीपादानां PA ; श्रीस्वामिपादानां SSP, ASA ; श्रीचरणाः PB ; ॰सरस्वतीपादानां VSPB.
4. गुणावलम्बकाः केचित् IO.
7. अथ omitted DA, DB, DC, PA ; भक्तानां for तेषां PA, IO, ASC, AKG, VSPB.
8. PA writes here the first line नामानि प्रणयेन etc. up to तुण्डोत्स॰ and then strikes it off. The next verse after this heading in PA is धन्यानां हृदि भासतां (no. 75) and the ones following it up to no. 91 ; the verses no. 59 to 75 being placed after no. 90 (q. v.).
8. Occurs in Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Stava-mālā* (ed. Berhampore), p. 389 (गोविन्दबिरुदावली) ।—प्रणयेन तेषु कृतिनां PB, ASB.

सामानि श्रुतिशष्कुलीं मुरलिकाजातान्यलङ्कुर्वते
कामानिर्वृतचेतसामिह विभो नाशापि नः शोभते ॥५९॥

संसाराम्भसि सम्भृतभ्रमभरे गम्भीरतापत्रय-
ग्राहेणाभिगृहीतमुग्रगतिना क्रोशन्तमन्तर्भयात् ।
दीप्रेणाद्य सुदर्शनेन विबुधक्लान्तिच्छिदाकारिणा
चिन्तासन्ततिरुद्धमुद्धर हरे मच्चित्तदन्तीश्वरम् ॥६०॥

विवृतविविधबाधे भ्रान्तिवेगादगाधे
बलवति भवपूरे मज्जतो मे विदूरे ।

1. ०शस्कुलीं DA, DB, IO ; शष्कुलिं TB, शङ्कुलीं DC.
2. नाशापि corrected into नामापि PA.
3. This, as well as the following verse (no. 61), occurs in Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Stava-mālā* (गोविन्द-विरुदावली) at pp. 365 and 388 respectively. संसाराम्भसि दुस्तरोर्मिगहने *Stava-m.* ; ०भ्रमभरैर्गम्भीर० PA ; ०तापत्रयी- IO, ASB, ASC.
4. कुम्भीरेण० for ग्राहेणाभि० *Stava-m.* ; ०ग्राहेणापि गृहीत० SSP, ASA, ASB, Comm ; ०मग्रगतिना IO, ASC.
5. दीपेनाथ PB ; दीप्रेनाद्य IO, AKG ; विविधक्लान्ति० DB, IO, TB, ASC.
6. ०सन्ततिबद्ध० DC. ASA and SSP read after this verse (no. 60) an additional verse (unassigned) :

   आर्तस्य मे प्रणमतो जगदन्तरात्मन्
   पश्यन्न पश्यसि विभो न शृणोषि शृण्वन् ।
   दुर्दैवकुम्भजनुषा ननु साम्प्रतं मे
   पीतस्त्वदीयकरुणावरुणालयोऽपि ॥
7. भ्रान्तिपूरा० IO, ASC.

अशरणगणबन्धो हा कृपाकौमुदीन्दो
सकृदकृतविलम्बं देहि हस्तावलम्बम् ।।६१।।
एते समाहर्तुः ।।

नृत्यन् वायुविघूर्णितैः स्वविटपैर्गायन्नलीनां रुतै-
र्मुञ्चन्नश्रु मरन्दबिन्दुभिरलं रोमाञ्चवानङ्कुरैः ।
माकन्दोऽपि मुकुन्द मूर्छति तव स्मृत्या नु वृन्दावने
ब्रूहि प्राणसमान चेतसि कथं नामापि नायाति ते ।।६२।।
श्रीमदीश्वरपुरीश्रीपादानाम् ।।

या द्रौपदीपरित्राणे या गजेन्द्रस्य मोक्षणे ।

3. श्रीमद्रूपगोस्वामिनां PB, VSPB ; एते omitted DC, PB, IO, ASC ; एतानि DA, DD, DE, ASA, ASB, SSP ; समाहर्तुरेतानि AKG.
4. नृत्यद्वायु° PB ; स्वविटपै° PT only ; °लीनां शतै° PA.
5. मधूद्बिन्दु° PB.
6. स्मृत्वा DD, DE, PB, VSPA, VSPB ; तु for नु PA.
7. मे for ते DA, ASB.
8. श्रीमद्° omitted PA, PB, IO, AKG ; °पुरीपादानां DB, DC, ASA, ASB, PA.
9. This verse is read after no. 50 in IO, ASB and ASC, but repeated also here, ASB satisfying itself with noting simply : द्रौपदीत्यादि । या त्वरा इति ।। At the first citation, the first line is read in IO and ASC as : या त्वरा द्रौपदीत्राणे या त्वरा गजमोक्षणे ; but the second citation reads : या द्रौपदीपरित्राणे या त्वरा गजमोक्षणे । In the first citation the verse is assigned by all the three manuscripts as तस्यैव (i. e. पुरुषोत्तमदेवस्य) ; in the second, as श्रौत्कलस्य by IO and ASC.
9. या त्वरा द्रौपदीत्राणे या त्वरा गजमोक्षणे DB, DE and IO, ASA, ASC (first citation only, see above note).

मय्यार्ते करुणामूर्ते सा त्वरा का गता हरे ॥६३॥

औत्कलस्य ॥

दीनबन्धुरिति नाम ते स्मरन्
यादवेन्द्र पतितोऽहमुत्सहे ।
भक्तवत्सलतया त्वयि श्रुते
मामकं हृदयमाशु कम्पते ॥६४॥

जगन्नाथसेनस्य ॥

स्तावकास्तव चतुर्मुखादयो
भावकाश्च भगवन् भवादयः ।
सेवकाः शतमखादयः सुरा
वासुदेव यदि के तदा वयम् ॥६५॥

धनञ्जयस्य ॥

परमकारुणिको न भवत्परः
परमशोच्यतमो न च मत्परः ।

2. पुरुषोत्तमदेवस्य IO, ASB, ASC (first citation, see above note); कस्यचित् DA, DB, PA, TB, ASA; जगन्नाथस्य Comm; unassigned DC, ASB (second citation), VSPA; औत्कलस्य कस्यचित् VSPB.
7. The name prefixed by श्री SSP, ASA; जगन्नाथस्य PT only; धनञ्जयसेनस्य IO, ASC.
9. भावकास्तु DB, DC, TB, VSPA, AKG; भावका हि PT. IO and ASC read this verse after no. 66.
11. ते for के PB.
12. The name prefixed by श्री PB, SSP, ASA; कस्यचित् IO, ASC; धनञ्जयसेनस्य TB.
13. Cited anonymously in *Bhakti-sandarbha* p. 594.
14. न हि PA, PB, SSP, IO, TB, ASA, ASC, AKG.

इति विचिन्त्य हरे मयि पामरे
यदुचितं यदुनाथ तदाचर ॥६६॥

कस्यचित् ॥

भवोद्भवक्लेशकशाशताहतः
परिभ्रमन्निन्द्रियकापथान्तरे ।
नियम्यतां माधव मे मनोहय-
स्तदङ्घ्रि शङ्कौ दृढभक्तिबन्धने ॥६७॥

कस्यचित् ॥

न ध्यातोऽसि न कीर्तितोऽसि न मनागाराधितोऽसि प्रभो
नो जन्मान्तरगोचरे तव पदाम्भोजे च भक्तिः कृता ।
तेनाहं बहुदुःखभाजनतया प्राप्तो दशामीदृशीं
त्वं कारुण्यनिधे विधेहि करुणां श्रीकृष्ण दीने मयि ॥६८॥

श्रीशङ्करस्य ॥

शरणमसि हरे प्रभो मुरारे
जय मधुसूदन वासुदेव विष्णो ।
निरवधि कलुषौघकारिणं मां
गतिरहितं जगदीश रक्ष रक्ष ॥६९ ॥

कस्यचित् ॥

1. इति विविच्य PA. 3. जगन्नाथसेनस्य IO, ASC.

8. Unassigned PA.

12. कारुण्याम्बुनिधे विधेहि DD, DE, SSP, ASA, ASB ; त्वं कारुण्यनिधिर्विधेहि DA ; निधेहि TB.

13. श्री omitted PA, PB, IO, ASC, VSPA, AKG ; कस्यचित् Comm ; unassigned ASB.

दिनादौ मुरारे निशादौ मुरारे
दिनार्धे मुरारे निशार्धे मुरारे ।
दिनान्ते मुरारे निशान्ते मुरारे
त्वमेको गतिर्नस्त्वमेको गतिर्नः ॥७०॥

दाक्षिणात्यस्य ॥

अयि नन्दतनूज किङ्करं
पतितं मां विषमे भवाम्बुधौ ।
कृपया तव पादपङ्कज-
स्थितधूलीसदृशं विभावय ॥७१॥

श्रीभगवतः ॥

1. PB drops निशादौ मुरारे ।
2. दिनादौ for दिनार्धे and निशादौ for निशार्धे again in PA. The manuscript DE ends at fol. 7b with मुरारे नि० ; it begins again no. 169 (fol. 16a), below.
5. श्रीगुल्वरयानां Comm.
6. Cited as Caitanya's in Kṛṣṇadāsa's *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, Antya xx, 32.—देव हे for किङ्करं PA.
7. विषये for विषमे P.T and Comm.
8-9. पादपद्मयोरिह धूली० DA.
9. श्रितधूली० PA ; विचिन्तय IO, TB, ASC, ASB (corrected from विभावय), AKG.
10. श्रीश्री० DB, DC, ASC, TB, VSPA, VSPB, PT ; कस्यचित् Comm.

अथ तेषां निष्ठा

न वयं कवयो न तार्किका
न च वेदान्तनितान्तपारगाः ।
न च वादिनिवारकाः परं
कपटाभीरकिशोरकिङ्कराः ॥७२॥

श्रीसार्वभौमभट्टाचार्याणाम् ॥

परिवदतु जनो यथा तथायं
ननु मुखरो न वयं विचारयामः ।
हरिरसमदिरामदातिमत्ता
भुवि विलुठाम नटाम निर्विशाम ॥७३॥

तेषामेव ॥

1. अथ भक्तानां निष्ठा IO, ASC ; अथ तेषां भक्तानां निष्ठा VSPB ; अथ भक्तनिष्ठा PA ; the whole heading omitted PA, ASB.

6. श्री omitted IO, ASC ; ०भट्टाचार्यस्य PB, Comm.

7. Cited in *Bhakti-rasāmṛta*° p. 395 (यथा पद्यावल्याम्). यथा तथा वा PA.

8. वत for ननु PA.

9. ०मत्तो DA, PB, IO, ASC, VSPB.

10. पर्यटाम for निर्विशाम PA ; विलुठामि नटामि निर्विशामि DA, PB, IO, ASC, VSPB ; विलुठामो नटामो निर्विशामः DC, DD.

11. तस्यैव PB, SSP, ASA ; कस्यचित् PT, Comm, AKG.

नाहं विप्रो न च नरपतिर्नापि वैश्यो न शूद्रो
नो वा वर्णी न च गृहपतिर्नो वनस्थो यतिर्वा ।
किन्तु प्रोद्यन्निखिलपरमानन्दपूर्णामृताब्धे-
र्गोपीभर्तुः पदकमलयोर्दासदासानुदासः ।।७४।।

कस्यचित् ।।

धन्यानां हृदि भासतां गिरिवरप्रत्यग्रकुञ्जौकसां
सत्यानन्दरसं विकारविभवव्यावृत्तमन्तर्महः ।
अस्माकं किल वल्लवीरतिरसो वृन्दाटवीलालसो
गोपः कोऽपि महेन्द्रनीलरुचिरश्चित्ते मुहुः क्रीडतु ।।७५।।

श्रीमदीश्वरपुरीपादानाम् ।।

रसं प्रशंसन्तु कवित्वनिष्ठा
ब्रह्मामृतं वेदशिरोनिविष्टाः ।

1. This verse is placed by PT and Comm before no. 72 above. Cited in Jayānanda's *Caitanya-maṅgal* (ed. Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta 1905) p. 85 (corrupt).

4. दासदासस्य दासः DB, DD, SSP, ASA, VSPA.

5. श्रीभगवतः IO, ASB, ASC ; श्रीश्रीभगवतः DC.

7. ०विभवव्यावर्त० DA, DC, PB, PT, Comm ; व्यावृत्य SSP ; व्यावर्त्य AKG ; कावर्तु (corrupt) DB. ०र्बहिः for ०र्महः PB.

10. श्रीमद् omitted PA, PB, IO, ASB, ASC ; ०श्रीपादानां DA, DD, PB, IO, ASC, VSPA, VSPB ; श्रीमदीश्वर-श्रीपादानां DC ; unassigned SSP, ASA.

वयं तु गुञ्जाकलितावतंसं
गृहीतवंशं कमपि श्रयामः ॥७६॥
श्रीयादवेन्द्रपुरीपादानाम् ॥

ध्यानातीतं किमपि परमं ये तु जानन्ति तत्त्वं
तेषामास्तां हृदयकुहरे शुद्धचिन्मात्र आत्मा ।
अस्माकं तु प्रकृतिमधुरः स्मेरवक्त्रारविन्दो
मेघश्यामः कनकपरिधिः पङ्कजाक्षोऽयमात्मा ॥७७॥
कविरत्नस्य ॥

जातु प्रार्थयते न पार्थिवपदं नैन्द्रे पदे मोदते
सन्धत्ते न च योगसिद्धिषु धियं मोक्षं न चाकाङ्क्षति ।
कालिन्दीवनसीमनि स्थिरतडिन्मेघद्युतौ केवलं
शुद्धे ब्रह्मणि वल्लवीभुजलतावद्धे मनो धावति ॥७८॥
तस्यैव ॥

1. गुञ्जाकलिका० DB. 2. स्मरामः for श्रयामः PB.

3 श्री omitted DA, DC, IO, ASC ; ०श्रीपादानां DA, PB, IO, ASC, VSPB ; श्रीयादवेन्द्रपुरीणां DB, DD, TB, VSPA ; श्रीमदीश्वरपुरीपादानां SSP ; माधवेन्द्रपुरीश्रीपादानां AKG ; unassigned ASA, ASB.

4. Cited in *Bhakti-rasāmṛta*°, p. 640 (यथा पद्यावल्याम्).

6. ०मधुरस्मेर० DA, PA, AKG, PT, Comm.

7. पङ्कजाक्षो ममास्तु PB. 8. कस्यचित् ASB.

9. This verse is omitted in PB.

10. मोक्षं च नाकाङ्क्षति DD, PA, IO, SSP, ASA, ASC, AKG.

11. कालिन्दीतटसीमनि VSPB.

13. तेषामेव PA ; कविरत्नस्य IO.

सन्ध्यावन्दन भद्रमस्तु भवते भोः स्नान तुभ्यं नमो
भो देवा पितरश्च तर्पणविधौ नाहं क्षमः क्षम्यताम् ।
यत्र कापि निषद्य यादवकुलोत्तंसस्य कंसद्विषः
स्मारं स्मारमघं हरामि तदलं मन्ये किमन्येन मे ॥७९॥

श्रीमाधवेन्द्रपुरीपादानाम् ॥

देवकीतनयसेवकीभवन्
यो भवानि स भवानि किं ततः ।
उत्पथे क्वचन सत्पथेऽपि वा
मानसं व्रजतु दैवदेशितम् ॥८०॥

कस्यचित् ॥

1. Cited anonymously in *SRBh*, p. 387, no. 108.— भवतो DC, DD, ASB, PT, Comm, VSPA.

5. ०श्रीपादानां DA, DD, TB, VSPA, VSPB ; श्रीमाधवपुरी-श्रीपादानां IO, PA, ASC ; यादवेन्द्रपुरीपादानां PB. After this verse DB, DC, VSPB, PT and Comm read (AKG also giving it but regarding it apparently as interpolated) :

स्नानं म्लानमभूत् क्रिया न च क्रिया [कृतिः AKG] सन्ध्या च बन्ध्याभव-
द्वेदः खेदमवाप शास्त्रपटली सम्पूटितान्तःस्फुटा ।
धर्मो मर्महतो ह्यधर्मनिचयः प्रायः क्षयं प्राप्तवान्
चित्तं चुम्बति [चिन्ते संविश VSPB] यादवेन्द्रचरणाम्भोजे
ममाहर्निशम् ॥

कस्यचित् (unassigned DC, AKG).

7. भवामि in both places DD, PB, SSP, ASA, ASC, IO (the word dropped second time along with स), AKG, VSPB.

8. सत्पथेऽथ वा DA.

9. ०देशिते PA.

मुग्धं मां निगदन्तु नीतिनिपुणा भ्रान्तं मुहुर्वैदिका
मन्दं बान्धवसञ्चया जडधियं मुक्तादराः सोदराः ।
उन्मत्तं धनिनो विवेकचतुराः कामं महादाम्भिकं
मोक्तुं न क्षमते मनागपि मनो गोविन्दपादस्पृहाम् ॥८१॥

माधवस्य ॥

श्याममेव परं रूपं पुरी मधुपुरी परा ।
वयः कैशोरकं ध्येयमाद्य एव परो रसः ॥८२॥

श्रीरघुपत्युपाध्यायस्य ॥

पुरतः स्फुरतु विमुक्तिश्चिरमिह राज्यं करोतु वैराज्यम् ।
पशुपालबालकपतेः सेवामेवाभिवाञ्छामि ॥८३॥

सुरोत्तमाचार्यस्य ॥

1. निगदन्ति वेदनिपुणा VSPB, मोहनिपुणा DD.
4. ०पादस्पृहाः TB.
5. श्री prefixed to the name DB, PA, VSPB, AKG ; श्रीमद्रूपगोस्वामिनां PB ; कस्यचित् IO, ASC.
6. Cited and ascribed to Raghupati Upādhyāya in Kṛṣṇadāsa's *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, Madhya xix, 101-105. वरा for परा DC, DD, TB, ASB, AKG, VSPA, PT ; परं PA ; the word dropped PB.
7. वयः corrected into परं PA ; ध्येयं वाद्य PA.
8. श्री omitted DB, DC, DD, ASB, VSPA, VSPB ; श्रीरघूपाध्यायस्य IO, ASC ; रघूपाध्यायस्य PA, ASB ; रूपोपाध्यायस्य PB.
10. शिशुपाल० PT ; पशुपालकपतेः DA ; ०वाञ्छामः PA.
11. पुरुषोत्तमाचार्यस्य DC, PT, Comm.

क्षौणीपतित्वमथवैकमकिञ्चनत्वं
नित्यं ददासि बहुमानमथापमानम् ।
वैकुण्ठवासमथ वा नरके निवासं
हा वासुदेव मम नास्ति गतिस्त्वदन्या ॥८४॥
श्रीगर्भकवीन्द्रस्य ॥

दिशतु स्वाराज्यं वा वितरतु तापत्रयं वापि ।
सुखितं दुःखितमपि मां न विमुञ्चतु केशवः स्वामी ॥८५॥
कविराजमिश्रस्य ॥

तेषामेव सौत्सुक्यप्रार्थना

नन्दनन्दनपदारविन्दयोः
स्यन्दमानमकरन्दबिन्दवः ।

1. क्षोणीपति० PA, PB, AKG, VSPB.
4. हे for हा ASB, PT (both readings), Comm ; कृष्णचन्द्र for वासुदेव DB, DD, TB, IO, SSP, ASC, VSPB, ASA (corrected into वासुदेव) ; प्राणनाथ for वासुदेव ASB ; श्रीवासुदेव VSPA.
5. श्री omitted AKG ; ०कवीन्द्राणां IO, ASC ; only कवीन्द्राणां PA.
7. न मुञ्चतु DB, TB, VSPB, PT ; केशवस्वामी DB, DD, PB, SSP, IO, ASA, ASB, ASC, PT.
8. The name prefixed by श्री IO, ASC, AKG ; unassigned in DC, PB.
9. अथ तेषां सौत्सुक्य० DD ; अथ भक्तानामौत्सुक्य० AKG ; भक्तानां सौत्सुक्य० DB, SSP, VSPB ; अथ भक्तानां सौत्सुक्य० ASA ; तेषामेव भक्तानां सौत्सुक्य० IO, ASC ; अथ तेषामेवोत्सुक्य० PT ; अथ तेषामेव सौत्सुक्य० Comm ; whole heading omitted PA, PB.

सिन्धवः परमसौख्यसम्पदां
नन्दयन्तु हृदयं ममानिशम् ॥८६॥

श्रीकराचार्याणाम् ॥

इह वत्सान् समचारयदिह नः स्वामी जगौ वंशीम् ।
इति साम्रं गदतो मे यमुनातीरे दिनं यायात् ॥८७॥

श्रीरघुपत्युपाध्यायस्य ॥

अनुशीलितकुञ्जवाटिकायां
जघनालङ्कृतपीतशाटिकायाम् ।
मुरलीकलकूजिते रतायां
मम चेतोऽस्तु कदम्बदेवतायाम् ॥८८॥

गोविन्दस्य ॥

आरक्तदीर्घनयनो नयनाभिरामः
कन्दर्पकोटिललितं वपुरादधानः ।

3. श्रीकराचार्यस्य PT ; श्रीशङ्कराचार्यस्य DA ; श्रीशङ्कराचार्याणाम् DC, PA (omitting श्री) ; unassigned PB.

4. समाचारय० DA, DB, SSP, IO, ASA, ASC, VSPB ; समाचरय० DC ; समाह्वया० PT ; वंशं PB.

6. श्री omitted DD, SSP, ASA, Comm ; रघुपत्युपाध्यायानां AKG ; रघूपाध्यायस्य IO, ASC.

8. जघनालम्बित० PA, AKG.

9. मुरलीकृतकूजिते PA ; ०कलकूजितरतायां PT ; कलकुजितैर्नतायां VSPB.

11. श्री prefixed to the name SSP, ASA, ASB.

भूयात् स मेऽद्य हृदयाम्बुरुहाधिवर्ती
वृन्दाटवीनगरनागरचक्रवर्ती ॥८९॥
भवानन्दस्य ॥

लावण्यामृतवन्या मधुरिमलहरीपरीपाकः ।
कारुण्यानां हृदयं कपटकिशोरः परिस्फुरतु ॥९०॥
श्रीसार्वभौमभट्टाचार्याणाम् ॥

भवन्तु तानि जन्मानि यत्र ते मुरलीकलः ।
कर्णपेयत्वमायाति किं मे निर्वाणवार्तया ॥९१॥
तेषामेव ॥

आस्वाद्यं प्रमदारदच्छद इव श्रव्यं नवं जल्पितं
बालाया इव दृश्यमुत्तमवधूलावण्यलक्ष्मीरिव ।

1. भूयात् समेत्य DB, DC, ASB, VSPA, VSPB, PT, Comm. PB drops all words from भूयात् to भवानन्दस्य ।
3. भवानन्दरायस्य Comm ; कस्यचित् PA.
5. हृदये IO, ASB, ASC, Comm.
6. श्री omitted DB, DC, ASB, VSPA, PT, Comm ; सार्वभौमस्य PB ; unassigned PA.
6. PA reads after no. 90 the verses no. 59 to 75. Then it omits all verses from no. 91 to no. 107 and goes on directly to no. 108. See note under no. 59 above. The verses no. 91 to 107 are read after no. 121 (q. v.).
7. तत्र for तानि PT only ; मुरलीरवाः PA.
8. कर्णपेयत्वमायान्ति PA.
9. तस्यैव PB.
10. आच्छाद्यं VSPB.
11. बालानामिव PA.

प्राद्धोष्यं चिरविप्रयुक्तवनितासन्देशवाणीव मे
नैवेद्यं चरितं च रूपमनिशं श्रीकृष्ण नामास्तु ते ॥६२॥

केषाञ्चित् ॥

नयनं गलदश्रुधारया
वदनं गद्गदरुद्धया गिरा
पुलकैर्निचितं वपुः कदा
तव नामग्रहणे भविष्यति ॥६३॥

न धनं न जनं न सुन्दरीं
कवितां वा जगदीश कामये ।
मम जन्मनि जन्मनीश्वरे
भवताद्भक्तिरहैतुकी त्वयि ॥६४॥

एतौ श्रीभवगतः ॥

गोवर्धनप्रस्थनवाम्बुवाहः
कलिन्दकन्यानवनीलपद्मम् ।

2. हे कृष्ण Comm ; मे for ते PB, SSP, ASA.
3. Unassigned DA.
4. Cited in Kṛṣṇadāsa's *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, Antya xx 36 as Caitanya's. गलदश्रुधारया DC, IO, TB, ASB, ASC, AKG, PT, Comm.
5. वचनं for वदनं PB.
7. ASB writes after this verse : श्रीभगवतः ।
8. Cited in Kṛṣṇadāsa's *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, Antya xx 29, as Caitanya's.
12. एतौ द्वौ श्री० PT only ; श्रीश्री० DA, DB, TB, VSPA, VSPB, PT ; एतौ omitted PB, IO, ASC ; तस्यैव ASB.

वृन्दावनोदारतमालशाखी
तापत्रयस्याभिभवं करोतु ॥६५॥
गौडीयस्य ॥

अनङ्गरसचातुरीचपलचारुचेलाञ्चल-
श्चलन्मकरकुण्डलस्फुरितकान्तिगण्डस्थलः ।
व्रजोल्लसितनागरीनिकररासलास्योत्सुकः
स मे सपदि मानसे स्फुरतु कोऽपि गोपालकः ॥६६॥
श्रीमाधवेन्द्रपुरीपादानाम् ॥

अथ तेषामुत्कण्ठा

श्रुतयः पलालकल्पाः किमिह वयं साम्प्रतं चिनुमः ।
अह्रियत पुरैव नयनैराभीरीभिः परं ब्रह्म ॥६७॥
श्रीरघुपत्युपाध्यायस्य ॥

2. करोति PA.
3. गौडीयस्य कस्यचित् DB, VSPB ; only कस्यचित् PA, PB, IO, ASC.
4. ०चारुनेत्राञ्चल- DC, DD, SSP, ASA, ASB, AKG. The Comm notices this reading also.
5. ०स्फुरितकान्त० DC.
8. ०श्रीपादानां DA, DB, DC ; श्रीमाधवपुरीश्रीपादानां IO, TB, ASB, ASC, VSPA ; माधवेन्द्रश्रीपादाः पुरी PB ; माधवेन्द्रपुरी PA.
9. अथ omitted PA ; भक्तानामुत्कण्ठा PA, IO, ASC, VSPB, AKG ; the whole heading omitted PB.
10. प्रवालकल्पाः DD ; विचिनुमः PB.　11. परैव नयनै० PA.
12. रघुपत्युपाध्यायः PB ; श्रीरघूपाध्यायस्य DC ; श्रीरघोः PA ; unassigned DB, IO, TB, ASC.

क्वम्प्रति कथयितुमीशे सम्प्रति को वा प्रतीतिमायातु ।
गोपतितनयाकुञ्जे गोपवधूटीविटं ब्रह्म ॥९८॥

तस्यैव ॥

ज्ञातं काणभुजं मतं परिचितैवान्वीक्षिकी शिक्षिता
मीमांसा विदितैव सांख्यसरणियोंगे वितीर्णा मतिः ।
वेदान्ताः परिशीलिताः सरभसं किं तु स्फुरन्माधुरी-
धारा काचन नन्दसूनुमुरली मच्चित्तमाकर्षति ॥९९॥

श्रीसार्वभौमभट्टाचार्याणाम् ॥

अमरीमुखसीधुमाधुरीणां
लहरी काचन चातुरी कलानाम् ।
तरलीकुरुते मनो मदीयं
मुरलीनादपरम्परा मुरारेः ॥१००॥

तेषामेव ॥

1. Cited and ascribed to Raghupati Upādhāya in Kṛṣṇadāsa's *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, Madhya xix, 98. This verse is omitted in DA, PA, PB, SSP, ASA, ASB, VSPA, VSPB.—मां प्रति को वा Comm, which also notices the reading सम्प्रति ; प्रतीतिमायाति PT only.
2. तनयातीरे IO, TB, ASC.
3. तस्यापि DD ; तेषामेव DC ; रघूपाध्यायस्य DB ; श्रीरघूपाध्यायस्य IO, ASC ; श्रीरघुपत्युपाध्यायस्य TB ; रघुपत्युपाध्यायस्य PT ; कस्यचित् Comm.
5. च तीर्णा मतिः DD, SSP, ASA, ASB, PT ; विशीर्णा IO, ASC.
8. श्री omitted PB, IO, ASC ; ०भट्टाचार्यस्य PB,
13. तस्यैव PB, PT.

अपहरति मनो मे कोऽप्ययं कृष्णचौरः
प्रणतदुरितचौरः पूतनाप्राणचौरः ।
वलयवसनचौरो बालगोपीजनानां
नयनहृदयचौरः पश्यतां सज्जनानाम् ॥१०१॥

कस्यचित् ॥

अलं त्रिदिववार्तया किमिति सार्वभौमश्रिया
विदूरतरवर्तिनी भवतु मोक्षलक्ष्मीरपि ।
कलिन्दगिरिनन्दिनीतटनिकुञ्जपुञ्जोदरे
मनो हरति केवलं नवतमालनीलं महः ॥१०२॥

हरिदासस्य ॥

अवलोकितमनुमोदितमालिङ्गितमङ्गनाभिरनुरागैः ।
अधिवृन्दावनकुञ्जं मरकतपुञ्जं नमस्यामः ॥१०३ ॥

सर्वविद्याविनोदानाम् ॥

कदा द्रक्ष्यामि नन्दस्य बालकं नीपमालकम् ।
पालकं सर्वसत्त्वानां लसत्तिलकभालकम् ॥१०४॥

श्रीमाधवेन्द्रपुरीपादानाम् ॥

2. ०दुरितनिघ्नः IO (added on upper margin).
3. ०गोपीगणानां PB.
6. किमिह सार्व० PA ; किमपि VSPB.
10. श्री prefixed to the name ASB ; unassigned PB.
11. Cited anonymously in *SRBh*, p. 23, no. 107.
13. माधवपुरीश्रीपादाः PB wrongly, probably through its omitting no. 104.
14. This verse is omitted in PB.
15. ०श्रीपादानां DA, DB, TB ; ०पुरीणां DD, ASB, VSPA ; माधवपुरीश्रीपादानां PA ; श्रीमाधवपुरीश्रीपादानां IO, ASC.

कदा वृन्दारण्ये मिहिरदुहितुः सङ्गमहिते
मुहुर्भ्रामं भ्रामं चरितलहरीं गोकुलपतेः ।
लपन्नुच्चैरुच्चैर्नयनपयसां वेणिभिरहं
करिष्ये सोत्कण्ठो निविडमवसेकं विटपिनाम् ।।१०५।।

दुरारोहे लक्ष्मीवति भगवतीनामपि पदं
दधाना धम्मिल्ले नटति कठिने योपनिषदाम् ।
रतिर्वंशीजन्मा धृतमधुरिमा सा मधुरिपो-
रकस्मादस्माकं श्रुतिशिखरमारोक्ष्यति कदा ।।१०६।।

समाहर्तुरेतौ ॥

उत्फुल्लतापिञ्छमनोरमश्री-
र्मातुः स्तनन्यस्तमुखारविन्दः ।

1. Occurs in Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Stava-mālā* p. 415 (वृन्दावनगोवत्सचारणादिलीला)।—सङ्गसहिते PA ; दुहितुस्तीर-महिते DA.
2. चरितमसकृद् IO, ASA, ASC.
4. निविडमभिषेकं DC, IO, TB (apparently corrected into ०मवसेकं) ASB, ASC, VSPA ; निविडमुपसेकं AKG.
6. न स्फुटति for नटति PB.
7. स्रुतिर्वंशी० PB ; रतिर्वंशी SSP, PT.
8. शिखरमारोहति PB, TB.
9. एतौ समाहर्तुः IO, ASC ; एतौ omitted ASB ; श्रीरूपस्यैतौ VSPB.
10. This verse is omitted in PB.

सञ्चालयन् पादसरोरुहाग्रं
कृष्णः कदा यास्यति दृक्पथं मे ॥१०७॥
कस्यचित् ॥

रोहिणीरमणमण्डलद्युति-
द्रोहिणीं वदनकान्तिसन्ततिम् ।
कृष्ण नूतनतमालकोमलां
कोऽमलां तव तनुं च विस्मरेत् ॥१०८॥
कस्यचित् ॥

बर्हापीडं मौलौ बिभ्रद्वंशीनादामातन्वन्
नानाकल्पश्रीसम्पन्नो गोपस्त्रीभिः संवीतः ।
नेत्रानन्दं कुर्वन् कृष्ण त्वं चेदस्मान् वीक्षेथाः
सर्वे कामाः सम्पद्येरन्नस्माकं हृद्यासीनाः ॥१०९॥
सर्वभट्टस्य ॥

2. कदायास्यति AKG. 3. Unassigned VSPA.

4. This verse is omitted in PB.

5. द्रोहिणीवदन० DA, DB, DC, PA, AKG, Comm.

7. Here Manuscript DF begins (fol. 22a).—तनुं न PA.

9. ०नादानातन्वानो PT only.

11. सर्वानन्दभट्टस्य DB, DC, VSPB ; सर्वानन्दस्य ASB ; सार्वभौमभट्टस्य AKG, PT, Comm ; श्रीसार्वभौमभट्टानां SSP, ASA ; सार्वभौमभट्टाचार्यस्य DD ; unassigned DF ; सर्वाभीष्टस्य VSPA.

अथ मोक्षानादरः

भक्तिः सेवा भगवतो मुक्तिस्तत्पदलङ्घनम् ।
को मूढो दासतां प्राप्य प्राभवं पदमिच्छति ॥११०॥
शिवमौनिनाम् ॥

भवबन्धच्छिदे तस्यै स्पृहयामि न मुक्तये ।
भवान् प्रभुरहं दास इति यत्र विलुप्यते ॥१११॥
श्रीहनूमतः ॥

1. मोक्षानादरता DF, TB, IO, ASC ; मोक्षाख्यामनादरः VSPA ; the whole heading omitted PB.
2. The second line of this verse is cited in *Bhakti-sandarbha* (p. 551) with तदुक्तं श्रीहनूमता ।— भक्तिर्भगवतः सेवा SSP.
4. The MSS read variously : शिवमौलिनां, शिरमौलिनां, शिवमौनिनां, शिरमौनिनां. The difficulty of making out the exact form of the name lies in the usual confusion, due to similarity of appearance, of the letters न and ल, as well as र and व, in old Bengali manuscripts. शिवमौनिनां is the form given by some of our best manuscripts (DA, DB, DC, IO, SSP, VSPA, VSPB). TB and Comm read शिरोमौलीनाम् ।
5. तस्मै for तस्यै DC, DD, SSP, PA, PB, ASA, ASB ; ASC is corrupt on this point. The *Bhakti-rasāmṛta* cites (p. 58) this verse with अतएव प्रसिद्धं श्रीहनूमद्वाक्यम् ।

हन्त चित्रीयते मित्र स्मृत्वा तान् मम मानसम् ।
विवेकिनोऽपि ये कुर्युस्तृष्णामात्यन्तिके लये ॥११२॥
केषाञ्चित् ॥

का त्वं मुक्तिरुपागतास्मि भवती कस्मादकस्मादिह
श्रीकृष्णस्मरणेन देव भवतो दासीपदं प्रापिता ।
दूरे तिष्ठ मनागनागसि कथं कुर्यादनार्यं मयि
त्वद्गन्धान्निजनामचन्दनरसालेपस्य लोपो भवेत् ॥११३॥
कस्यचित् ॥

अथ श्रीभगवद्धर्मतत्त्वम्

अर्च्ये विष्णौ शिलाधीर्गुरुषु नरमतिर्वैष्णवे जातिबुद्धि-
र्विष्णोर्वा वैष्णवानां कलिमलमथने पादतीर्थेऽम्बुबुद्धिः ।

1. PB omits this verse.—तन्मम मानसं DB, DC, DF, PA, ASB.
3. कस्यचित् DF, ASB, ASC, IO, AKG ; unassigned VSPB.
4. This verse is omitted in PB, VSPA, VSPB. मुक्तिरुपागतास्ति DA ; मुक्तिरुपागतासि IO, TB, ASC ; कस्माद् dropped DF, ASB ; ASC drops all words from भवती to मनागनागसि । 5. भवता DF.
6. दूरे तिष्ठतरामनागसि DB, DC, ASA, SSP.
7. त्वद्ध्यानान्निज० DA, DD, SSP, ASA, PT ; त्वद्ध्यानान्निज० PA ; त्वन्नाम्ना निज० AKG, Comm ; त्वद्दानान्निज० ASB.
8. केषाञ्चित् SSP, ASA.
9. अथ omitted PA, IO, ASC, VSPA, VSPB ; श्री omitted DF, TB ; ०धर्ममहिमा DE, IO, ASB, ASC, AKG, VSPB ; श्रीश्री० VSPA ; the whole heading omitted PB.
10. आर्ये for अर्च्ये IO, ASC.

श्रीविष्णोर्नाम्नि मन्त्रे सकलकलुषहे शब्दसामान्यबुद्धि-
र्विष्णौ सर्वेश्वरेशे तदितरसमधीर्यस्य वा नारकी सः ॥११४॥

दाक्षिणात्यस्य ॥

हत्यां हन्ति यदङ्घ्रिसङ्गतुलसी स्तेयं च तोयं पदे
नैवेद्यं बहुमद्यपानदुरितं गुर्वङ्गनासङ्गजम् ।
श्रीशाधीनमतिः स्थितिर्हरिजनैस्तत्सङ्गजं किल्बिषं
शालग्रामशिलानृसिंहमहिमा कोऽप्येष लोकोत्तरः ॥११५॥

आगमस्य ॥

अथ नैवेद्यार्पणे विज्ञप्तिः

द्विजस्त्रीणां भक्ते मृदुनि विदुरान्ने व्रजगवां
दधिक्षीरे सख्युः स्फुटचिपिटमुष्टौ मुररिपो ।

1. श्रीविष्णोर्नाममन्त्रे PA ; पुरुषकलुषहे DD, PB, SSP, ASA ; कलिकलुषहरे PA.
3. श्री prefixed to the name DC ; केषाञ्चित् DF, PB, SSP, IO, ASA, ASB, ASC ; केषाञ्चिद् दाक्षिणात्यस्य VSPB.
4. Cited anonymously in *Haribhakti-vilāsa*, i, p. 495 ; *Bhakti-sandarbha* (ed. Śyāmlāl Gosvāmin, Calcutta 1890, p. 499.—तोयं पदोर् AKG.
5. Corrected into नैवेद्यं हृदिमध्यगं च दुरितं PB.
7. सालिग्राम° PA.
8. कस्यचित् IO ; केषाञ्चित् PB, SSP, ASA, ASB, ASC ; unassigned DF ; केषाञ्चिद् आगमस्य VSPB.
9. अथ omitted TB, VSPA, VSPB ; नैवेद्यसमर्पणे DF, PA, SSP, IO, TB, ASA, ASB, ASC, VSPA ; °समर्पण-विज्ञप्तिः AKG ; नैवेद्यस्पर्शने VSPB ; विधिः for विज्ञप्तिः PA ; the whole heading omitted PB.
10. °स्त्रीणामन्ने मृदुनि DA ; व्रजगवो° DF, SSP, IO, ASC, VSPB. 11. °चिपट° PA, IO.

यशोदायाः स्तन्ये व्रजयुवतिदत्ते मधुनि ते
यथासीदामोदस्तमयमुपहारेऽपि कुरुताम् ॥११६॥
रामानुजस्य ॥

या प्रीतिर्विदुरार्पिते मुररिपो कुन्त्यर्पिते यादृशी
या गोवर्धनमूर्ध्नि या च पृथुके स्तन्ये यशोदार्पिते ।
भारद्वाजसमर्पिते शवरिकादत्तेऽधरे योषितां
या वा ते मुनिभाविनीविनिहितेऽन्नेऽत्रापि तामर्पय ॥११७॥
कस्यचित् ॥

क्षीरे श्यामलयार्पिते कमलया विश्राणिते फाणिते
दत्ते लड्डुनि भद्रया मधुरसे सोमाभया लम्भिते ।
तुष्टिर्या भवतस्ततः शतगुणां राधानिदेशान्मया
न्यस्तेऽस्मिन् पुरतस्त्वमर्पय हरे रम्योपहारे रतिम् ॥११८॥
समाहर्तुः ॥

2. ०मोदस्तदयमुप० DC, IO ; ०मोदस्तमु मदुप० PA ; ०गोदस्तमिममुप० PT ; ०मुपहारोऽपि DB, DC, DD, SSP, IO, ASA, ASB, ASC, VSPB, ०मुपहारोऽप्यकुरुताम् PB.
3. श्री prefixed to the name DA, DC, AKG, Comm ; कस्यचित् DD, SSP, IO, ASA, ASB, ASC.
6. This line is missing in PT.
7. मुनिभामिनी० PA, AKG ; विनिहिते नेत्रेऽपि PB.
8. ग्रन्थकृतः Comm only.
9. This verse is omitted PB. 10. लम्बिते PA, TB.
11. शतगुणं TB, PA, PT, AKG, VSPA.
12. वन्योपहारे DC. 13. श्रीरूपस्य PA.
13. DC reads after no. 118 the following additional verse ;

अथ श्रीमथुरामहिमा

हे मातर्मथुरे त्वमेव नियतं धन्यासि भूमीतले
निर्व्याजं नतयः शतं सविधयस्तुभ्यं सदा सन्तु नः ।
हित्वा हन्त नितान्तमद्भुतगुणं वैकुण्ठमुत्कण्ठया
त्वय्यम्भोजविलोचनः स भगवान् येनावतीर्णो हरिः ॥११९॥
कस्यचित् ॥

अत्रासीत् किल नन्दसद्म शकटस्यात्राभवद्भञ्जनं
बन्धच्छेदकरोऽपि दामभिरभूद् बद्धोऽत्र दामोदरः ।
इत्थं माथुरवृद्धवक्त्रविगलत्पीयूषधारां पिब-
न्नानन्दाश्रुधरः कदा मधुपुरीं धन्यश्चरिष्याम्यहम् ॥१२०॥
कविशेखरस्य ॥

अथ मथुरायानतिः ॥

राजद्दराभयकरां वरकुण्डलाढ्या-
मुत्सङ्गमण्डनविहारिशिखण्डचूडाम् ।
चित्राम्बरं च दधती शरदभ्रशुभ्रां
ध्वस्ताश्रितक्रमभरां मथुरां नमामि ॥ (unassigned)

1. अथ omitted DB, DC, VSPA, PA ; श्री omitted DB, DF, VSPB, PT ; the whole heading omitted PB. The order of verses in AKG, after this heading, is as follows : no. 122, 123, 119, 120, 121, 124.
2. भूमितले DD, PT, Comm ; भूमेस्तले PA, PB.
3. नयतः PT.
5. नीलाम्भोज° IO.
7. Cited in *Bhakti-rasāmṛta* p. 203 (यथा पद्यावल्याम्)
9. °पीयूषधारं *Bhakti-r.* ; पीयूषधाराः DF, VSPB, Comm ; विगलन्माध्वीकधारां DB.
10. आनन्दाश्रु वहन् PA, PB.
11. भुवनस्य DF, IO, ASB, ASC, ; unassigned PB.

A7.

यत्राखिलादिगुरुरम्बुजसम्भवोऽपि
स्तम्बात्मना जनुरनु स्पृहयाम्बभूव ।
चक्रध्वजाङ्कुशलसत्पदराजिरम्या
सा राजतेऽद्य मथुरा हरिराजधानी ॥१२१॥

कस्यचित् ॥

बीजं मुक्तितरोरनर्थपटलीनिस्तारकं तारकं
धाम प्रेमरसस्य वाञ्छितधुरासम्पारकं पारकम् ।
एतद्यत्र निवासिनामुदयते चिच्छक्तिवृत्तिद्वयं
मथ्नातु व्यसनानि माथुरपुरी सा वः श्रियं च क्रियात् ॥१२२॥

समाहर्तुः ॥

वितरति मुरमर्दनः प्रभुस्ते
न हि भजमानजनाय यं कदापि ।

1. यत्राङ्गिरादिगुरु० DC.

3. चक्रध्वजाङ्कुशपदाम्बुजरेणुरम्या VSPB, PB (corrected reading on the margin).

4. मधुरा हरि० DA, DD, ASA.

5. श्रीसार्वभौमभट्टाचार्याणां PA ; unassigned PB, ASA. PA reads after this verse nos. 91 to 107 and then goes on with no. 122. See note under no. 90.

6. Occurs in Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Stava-mālā* p. 715 (मथुराष्टक). This verse is omitted in PB.

7. वाञ्छितधुरां DB, DC, IO, ASB, ASC, PA ; सम्पादकं DC, VSPA, Comm ; तारकं and पारकं dropped in IO and DB.

10. Unassigned here (but see below under no. 123) PA.

11. This verse is omitted PB. हरवर्धनः IO, ASC.

वितरसि वत भक्तियोगमेतं
तव मधुरे महिमा गिरामभूमिः ॥१२३॥

तस्यैव ॥

श्रवणे मधुरा नयने मधुरा
वदने मधुरा हृदये मधुरा ।
पुरतो मधुरा परतो मधुरा
मधुरा मधुरा मधुरा मधुरा ॥१२४॥

श्रीगोविन्दमिश्राणाम् ॥

अथ वृन्दाटवीवन्दनम्

त्वं भज हिरण्यगर्भं त्वमपि हरं त्वं च तत्परं ब्रह्म ।

2. मथुरे AKG, PA, VSPB. 3. श्रीरूपस्येतौ PA.
4. मथुरा instead of मधुरा used throughout the verse in ASB, PA, PB, AKG, VSPB, PT ; IO reads मथुरा after श्रवणे and वदने, but मधुरा in other places.
6. परतो मधुरा पुरतो मधुरा SSP, ASA.
8. श्री omitted PB, IO, ASC, PT, Comm.
9. श्रीवृन्दाटवी० SSP, ASA. This heading omitted DC, PA, PB, ASB, AKG, VSPA, VSPB.
10. This verse omitted DC, PA, PB, VSPA, VSPB, AKG ; but AKG places the heading and this verse after no. 134, after which it reads the following verse (marking it doubtful by enclosing brackets) and assigning both (i.e. 125 and the additional verse) as एतौ कस्यचित् :

कथमपि तव वृन्दारण्य माहात्म्यवृन्दं
न हि कथयितुमुच्चैरीश्वरोऽप्यीश्वरः स्यात् ।
अपि च तृणफलानां यस्य लुब्धो रसाय
प्रभुरमृतभुजामप्याश्रयद् वत्सभावम् ॥

10. त्वमिह for त्वमपि DB, DF, IO, ASC ; तत् omitted DF, IO, ASC ; तत्परमं TB.

विनिहितकृष्णानन्दामहं तु वृन्दाटवीं वन्दे ॥१२५॥

कस्यचित् ॥

श्रीनन्दप्रणामः

श्रुतिमितरे स्मृतिमपरे भारतमन्ये भजन्तु भवभीताः ।
अहमिह नन्दं वन्दे यस्यालिन्दे परं ब्रह्म ॥१२६॥

श्रीरघुपत्युपाध्यायस्य ॥

बन्धूकारुणवसनं सुन्दरकुर्चं मुकुन्दहृतनयनम् ।
नन्दं तुन्दिलवपुषं चन्दनगौरत्विषं वन्दे ॥१२७॥

समाहर्तुः ॥

1. Unassigned IO, ASC.
3. अथ नन्द० DB, DF, PT ; the whole heading omitted PB ; अथ श्रीवृन्दप्रणामः IO, ASC.
4. Ascribed to Raghupati Upādhyāya in Kṛṣṇadāsa's *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, Madhya xix, 96.—श्रुतिमपरे DB, DD, IO, ASB, ASC, AKG, PT ; स्मृतिमितरे DA, DC, DD, TB, ASA, SSP, VSPA, AKG, PT ; स्मृतिमपरे dropped in VSPB. This verse is cited anonymously in *SRbh* p. 23, no, 113.
5. अहमपि नन्दं PA.
6. श्री omitted DC, DF, PT ; श्रीरघूपाध्यायस्य IO, ASB, ASC ; unassigned VSPB.
7. This verse omitted PB ; मुकुन्दहृतनयनं AKG, Comm, VSPA, VSPB.
8. तुन्दिलपुरुषं DF.
9. समाहर्तुरसौ (!) DC ; श्रीरूपस्य PA ; unassigned DB.

अथ श्रीयशोदावन्दनम्

अङ्कागपङ्कजनाभां नव्यघनाभां विचित्ररुचिसिचयाम्।
विरचितजगत्प्रमोदां मुहुर्यशोदां नमस्यामि ॥१२८॥

समाहर्तुः ॥

1. DA reads before this heading and after no. 127 : श्रीकृष्णस्य शैशवम् and the verse no. 129 ; PA, PB, and DC altogether omit no. 128 with its heading ; अथ श्रीयशोदायां प्रणामः ASB ; अथ यशोदायाः प्रणामः VSPA ; अथ omitted DA ; श्री omitted DF, Comm ; अथ omitted and श्रीयशोदाप्रणामः VSPB.
2. अङ्कग dropped VSPB ; नव्यघनाभां IO, ASC ; नव्य-घनाभां dropped DF ; ०रुचि० dropped SSP, ASA, ASB ; ०सिचयाञ्च IO, TB ; ०रुचिवसनां VSPB.
3. विचित्रजगत्प्रमोदां IO ; विहितजगत्० AKG ; निर्मितजगत्० VSPB ; नमस्यामः DF, IO, ASB, ASC.
4. तस्यैव DD, SSP, ASA, AKG ; समाहर्तुरेतौ DA, IO, ASC ; श्रीरघपत्युपाध्यायस्य VSPB ; unassigned VSPA. After this verse (no. 128), DB read अथ सखादीनां वन्दनं ; DF अथ श्रीदामादिवन्दनं ; DD, SSP, ASA अथ श्रीदामादिप्रणामः ; and TB अथ श्रीदामादीनां प्रणामः। Then all these Mss (DB, DD, DF, SSP, TB, ASA) read the following additional verse :

श्रीदाममुख्यान् सुबलान् सुदीसान्
(सुबलांशुदीसान् SSP ; सबलांशु० or सरलांशु० TB)
सस्तोककृष्णार्जुनभद्रसेनान्।
वरूथपौजस्विवृषानदेव-
(वृषाल ASA ; ०विशाल० DF, TB)
प्रस्थान् विराजद्वृषभान् नमामि॥

कस्यचित्॥ (समाहर्तुः TB ; unassigned DF, SSP, ASA)

अथ श्रीकृष्णशैशवम्

अतिलोहितकरचरणं मञ्जुलगोरोचनातिलकम् ।
हठपरिवर्तितशकटं मुररिपुमुत्तानशायिनं वन्दे ॥१२६॥

कस्यचित् ॥

अर्धोन्मीलितलोचनस्य पिबतः पर्याप्तमेकं स्तनं
सद्यःप्रस्नुतदुग्धदिग्धमपरं हस्तेन सम्मार्जतः ।

1. अथ omitted DA, PA ; श्री omitted PA, DF ; श्रीकृष्णस्य IO, TB, ASB, ASC, VSPA, VSPB ; कृष्णस्य DF ; the whole heading omitted PB.
2. ०करचरणमुज्ज्वलगोरोचना० PA ; गोरोचनालसत्तिलकम् DB, DD, DF, PT ; मुत्तानशयनं SSP.
4. Unassigned in DA, but as no. 128 is read immediately after this verse by DA with the attribution समाहर्तुरेतौ, no. 129 is apparently assigned to समाहर्तृ by this MS.
5. Cited in *ŚP* 115 (बिल्वमङ्गलश्रीचरणानाम्) = *Sbhv* 37 (कस्यापि) = *SRbh* p. 25, no. 153 (assigned as in *ŚP*). किञ्चितत्कुञ्चितलोचनस्य *Sbhv*.
6. सद्यःप्रस्नुत० PA, PB, *Sbhv* ; सद्यःप्रस्तुत० DF, VSPB ; ०दुग्धबिन्दुमपरं *Sbhv* ; दिग्ध dropped in IO, ASC ; हस्तेन सम्मर्दतः ASB.

मात्रा चाङ्गुलिलालितस्य वदने स्मेरायमाने मुहु-
र्विष्णोः क्षीरकणोरुधामधवला दन्तद्युतिः पातु वः ॥१३०॥

मङ्गलस्य ॥

गोपेश्वरीवदनचूत्कृतिलोलनेत्रं
जानुद्वयेन धरणीमनु सञ्चरन्तम् ।
कञ्चिन्नवस्मितसुधामधुराधराभं
बालं तमालदलनीलमहं भजामि ॥१३१॥

श्रीरघुनाथदासस्य ॥

1. माता PT ; मात्रैकाङ्गुलिलालितस्य चिबुके स्मेराननस्याननाच्छौरेः *Sbhv* ; मुखे for मुहुः *ŚP*, *SRbh*, which also read चिबुके for वदने ।
2. क्षीरकणाम्बुधाम० *ŚP*, *SRbh* ; क्षीरकणावलीव पतिता *Sbhv* ; नन्द for दन्त PA ; नः for वः PA.
3. श्री prefixed to the name, AKG ; दीपस्य DD, SSP, ASA, ASB ; दीपकस्य DF, PB, IO, ASC.
4. After no. 130, VSPB reads no. 132 ; then it repeats no. 118, after which comes no. 131. गोपेश्वर० DC ; गोष्ठेश्वरी० DD, SSP, IO, TB, ASA, ASC ; नन्दाङ्गना० PA, PB ; व्रजेश्वरी० ASB ; ०फुत्कृति० DB, DD, PT, Comm, AKG ; ०फूत्कृति० DC, PA ; ०चूत्कृत० PB. This verse is omitted in PB and AKG here, but placed after no. 133 and no. 132 respectively.
5. धवलीमनु IO ; संसरन्तं DB.
6. किञ्चिन्नवस्मित० DA, DB, DC, DF, PA, TB, VSPA, VSPB, ASB ; मधुरधराग्रं PB, VSPB,
7. नीलरुचिं स्मरामि PA, PB, ASB.
8. श्री omitted DC, DF.

क्काननं क्क नयनं क्क नासिका
क्क श्रुतिः क्क शिखेति देशितः ।
तत्र तत्र निहिताङ्गुलीदलो
वल्लवीकुलमनन्दयत् प्रभुः ॥१३२॥
कविसार्वभौमस्य ॥

इदानीमङ्गमक्षालि रचितं चानुलेपनम् ।
इदानीमेव ते कृष्ण धूलीधूसरितं वपुः ॥१३३॥
सार्वभौमभट्टाचार्याणाम् ॥

पञ्चवर्षमतिलोलमङ्गने
धावमानमलकाकुलेक्षणम् ।
किङ्किणीवलयहारनूपुरै
रञ्जितं नमत नन्दनन्दनम् ॥१३४॥
आगमस्य ॥

2. निर्देशितः TB ; चाहतः for देशितः PB.
5. The name prefixed by श्री TB ; ०भौमभट्टाचार्याणाम् DA.
7. धूलिधूसरितं DA, DB, PT, Comm.
8. श्री prefixed to the name DA, SSP, TB, ASA, ASB, VSPB ; ०भट्टाचार्यस्य PB ; तेषामेव PA ; कविसार्वभौमस्य Comm ; AKG assigns this (no. 133), as well as no. 132, as एतौ कविसार्वभौमस्य ।
9. ०मतिहृसमङ्गने DB, VSPA ; ०मतिदीप्तमङ्गने Comm ; the word लोल dropped in DC.
11. ०नूपुर० PA.
12. नमत गोपबालकम् DC, TB, Comm, VSPA.

अथ शैशवेऽपि तारुण्यम्

अधरमधरे कण्ठं कण्ठे सचाटु दृशौ दृशो-
रलिकमलिके कृत्वा गोपीजनेन ससम्भ्रमम् ।
शिशुरिति रुदन् कृष्णो वक्षःस्थले निहितश्चिरा-
न्निभृतपुलकः स्मेरः पायात् स्मरालसविग्रहः ॥१३५॥

दिवाकरस्य ॥

भ्रूमस्त्वच्चरितं तवाधिजननि च्छद्मातिबाल्याकृते
त्वं यादृग् गिरिकन्दरेषु नयनानन्दः कुरङ्गीदृशाम् ।

1. अथ omitted DA, DB, DC, PA, VSPA, VSPB ; the whole heading omitted PB.
2. This verse is cited in *SKM* p. 66 (दिवाकरदत्तस्य).
2-3. दृशोर्दृशावलिकमलिके DA, DB, PB, TB, VSPA, VSPB, AKG, PT, Comm ; दृशोर्दृशावलकमलके PA.
3. दत्त्वा for कृत्वा PT only.
4. वदन् for रुदन PA, AKG, VSPA, VSPB, Comm ; कृष्णो dropped PB ; निहितोऽचिरा० *SKM*.
6. After no. 135, DF, PB, IO, ASC, VSPB read no. 137 followed by no. 136 ; DA, PA, PT read here चन्द्रावलीसखीवाक्यं (अथ चन्द्रावलीसखीवचनं PT) ; ASB and AKG read here no. 137 and then चन्द्रावलीसखी-वचनं (०सखीवाक्यं ASB), followed by no. 136.
7. Cited in *SKM* p. 66 (वनमालिनः).—तवाभि जननीं PT, VSPA, Comm, AKG ; ०बालाकृते DB, TB, AKG, ASB VSPA, Comm ; छद्मातिबालाकृतेस्त्वं यादृग् PT ; छायाति-बाल्याकृते PA ; तवाधिजननी चुम्बति बाल्याकृते (corrupt) PB ; च्छद्मोपजाताकृते *SKM*.

इत्युक्तः परिलेह्नच्छलतया न्यस्ताङ्गुलिः स्वानने
गोपीभिः पुरतः पुनातु जगतीमुत्तानसुप्तो हरिः ॥१३६॥

वनमालिनः ॥

वनमालिनि पितुरङ्के रचयति बाल्योचितं चरितम् ।
नवनवगोपवधूटीस्मितपरिपाटी परिस्फुरति ॥१३७॥

श्रीमुकुन्दभट्टाचार्यस्य ॥

नीतं नवनवनीतं कियदिति कृष्णो यशोदया पृष्टः ।
इयदिति गुरुजनसविधे विधृतघनिष्ठापयोधरः पायात् ॥१३८॥

कस्यचित् ॥

1. इत्युक्तोऽमृतलेहन० *SKM.*

3. मुकुन्दभट्टाचार्यस्य DF.

5. ०स्मितपरिपाटं स्फुरति PB.

6. श्री omitted DF, PB, IO, ASB ; ०भट्टाचार्याणाम् DA ; unassigned PA ; वनमालिनः PT, Comm.

7. Cited in *SRBh*, p. 23, no. 111 (anonymously). यशोदया स्पृष्टः ASB, PT.

8. गुरुजनमध्ये PT ; PB reads गुरुसविधे (striking off जन) and करधृतघनिष्ठा० (कर added on the margin by way of correction).

9. सारङ्गस्य DD, AKG, Comm ; रङ्गस्य DC ; राङ्गस्य (or वाङ्गस्य) DA, DB, TB, VSPA.

क्व यासि ननु चौरिके प्रमुषितं स्फुटं दृश्यते
द्वितीयमिह मामकं वहसि कञ्चुके कन्दुकम् ।
त्यजेति नवगोपिकाकुचयुगं निमथ्नन् बला-
ल्लसत्पुलकमण्डलो जयति गोकुले केशवः ॥१३९॥
दीपकस्य ॥

अथ गव्यहरणम्

दूरदृष्टनवनीतभाजनं
जानुचङ्क्रमणजातसम्भ्रमम् ।
मातृभीतिपरिवर्तिताननं
केशवं किमपि शैशवं भजे ॥१४०॥
कस्यचित् ॥

सम्मुष्णन् नवनीतमन्तिकमणिस्तम्भे स्वबिम्बोद्गमं
दृष्ट्वा मुग्धतया कुमारमपरं सञ्चिन्तयन् शङ्कया ।

1. चौरिके DA, SSP, ASA, VSPA, VSPB ; प्रमुदितं स्फुटं PT, Comm. Cited in ŚP 74 (दीपकस्य)=*SRBh* p. 24 (no. 140 दीपकस्य)=Jalhaṇa, *Sūkti-muktāvali* (Bhandarkar's *Report*, 1887-91, p. xxx) दीपकस्य.
2. कन्दुकं कञ्चुके DF, PA, PB, ASB, ASC, *ŚP*, *SRBh* ; कन्दुकं कन्दुके IO.
3. प्रमथ्नन् बला० *ŚP*. 4. ०पुलकपञ्जरो *ŚP*.
6. अथ omitted DC, PA, VSPB ; the whole heading omitted in PB, which reads here in order no. 144, 143, 140, 141, omitting 142 altogether.
8. ०जातसङ्क्रमं SSP, ASA. 9. भ्रातृभीति० IO.
10. केशवं वपुषि शैशवं (corrected reading) PB.
11. केषाञ्चित् Comm.

मन्मित्रं हि भवान् मयात्र भवतो भागः समः कल्पितो
मा मां सूचय सूचयेत्यनुनयन् बालो हरिः पातु वः ॥१४१॥
केषाञ्चित् ॥

दधिमथननिनादैस्त्यक्तनिद्रः प्रभाते
निभृतपदमगारं बल्लवीनां प्रविष्टः ।
मुखकमलसमीरैराशु निर्वाप्य दीपान्
कवलितनवनीतः पातु मां बालकृष्णः ॥१४२॥
कस्यचित् ॥

सव्ये पाणौ नियमितरवं किङ्किणीदाम धृत्वा
कुब्जीभूय प्रपदगतिभिर्मन्दमन्दं विहस्य ।
अक्ष्णोर्भङ्ग्या विहसितमुखीर्वारयन् सम्मुखीना
मातुः पश्चादहरत हरिर्जातु हैयङ्गवीनम् ॥१४३॥
श्रीमतः ॥

1. तन्मित्रं हि PT ; यन्मित्रं PB ; मया तु for मयात्र VSPB.
2. मां मा सूचय IO.
3. The order of the verses following no. 140 in VSPB is as follows :—nos. 144, 143, 141, 142, 145.
4. This verse is omitted PB.
8. केषाञ्चित SSP, ASA ; unassigned DB, DC, VSPA (but see below, note 13), PA, ASB ; श्रीश्रीभगवतः PT ; श्रीभगवतः शचीनन्दनस्य Comm.
9. नियमिततरं PB ; कृत्वा for धृत्वा PB.
10. प्रसभगतिभिः PA.
11. विहसितमुखो PA ; सम्मुखीनां DA, DD, DF, PB.
12. मातुः पश्चाद्धरति मधुहा PB.
13. एतौ श्रीमतः DB, DC, VSPA ; श्रीमान् ASB ; unassigned SSP ; श्रीश्रीभगवतः PT ; श्रीभगवतः शचीनन्दनस्य Comm.

पदन्यासान् द्वाराञ्चलभुवि विधाय त्रिचतुरान्
समन्तादालोलं नयनयुगलं दिक्षु विकिरन् ।
स्मितं बिभ्रद् व्यक्तं दधिहरणलीलाचटुलधीः
सशङ्कं गोपीनां मधुरिपुरगारं प्रविशति ॥१४४॥

समाहर्तुः ॥

मृद्नन् क्षीरादिचौर्यान्मसृणसुरभिणी सृक्कणी पाणिघर्षै-
राघ्रायाघ्राय हस्तं सपदि परुषयन् किङ्किणीमेखलायाम् ।
वारं वारं विशाले दिशि दिशि विकिरँल्लोचने लोलतारे
मन्दं मन्दं जनन्याः परिसरमयते कूटगोपालबालः ॥१४५॥

कस्यचित् ॥

1. पादन्यासान् PT ; विधायेष्टचतुरान् VSPB.
3. बिभ्रद्व्यक्तं DB, DC, AKG, Comm ; ०हरणानानाचटुल० DB, VSPA.
4. गोपीनां सदनमविशन्नन्दतनयः PB, VSPB.
5. श्रीरूपस्य PA.
6. Cited anonymously in *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* p. 108-9.—मृद्नन् IO, PT ; ०चौर्यांमसृणा० PT ; सृक्कणी dropped DB ; ०घर्षै० dropped IO ; पाणिमर्षै० PT.
7. परुषयन् मेखलादाम्नि कामम् PB.
8. विकिरन् लोचने ASB, PT ; विकिरंल्लोचने AKG ; the nasalisation is dropped in all the remaining Mss.
9. धूर्तगोपाल० AKG, Comm.
10. Unassigned in DF, IO.

अथ हरेः स्वप्नायितम्

शम्भो स्वागतमास्यतामित इतो वामेन पद्मोद्भव
क्रौञ्चारे कुशलं सुखं सुरपते वित्तेश नो दृश्यसे ।
इत्थं स्वप्नगतस्य कैटभरिपोः श्रुत्वा जनन्या गिरः
किं किं बालक जल्पसीत्यनुचितं थूथूकृतं पातु वः ।।१४६।।

मयूरस्य ।।

धीरा धरित्रि भव भारमवेहि शान्तं
नन्वेष कंसहतकं विनिपातयामि ।
इत्यद्भुतस्तिमितगोपवधूश्रुतानि
स्वप्नायितानि वसुदेवशिशोर्जयन्ति ।।१४७।।

सुदेवस्य ।।

1. अथ omitted ASC, PA ; श्रीहरेः ASC, PT ; the whole heading omitted PB.
2. Cited in *SKM*, p. 68 (i, 261) मयूरस्य ; श्रीकृष्णकर्णामृत (ed. Śrīvāṇīvilāsa Press, ii, 59).—पद्मासन ŚKK.
3. क्रोञ्चारे PB, PT, Comm, VSPB.
4. कैटभजितः ŚKK ; श्रुत्वा यशोदागिरः PB, *SKM*.
5. किं किं जल्पसि जल्पसी० SSP, ASA ; थ्यूथ्यूकृतं SSP, ASA ; धूधूकृतं ŚKK.
6. उमापतिधरस्य, then मयूरस्य DC ; सुदेवस्य DF.
7. Cited in *SKM* p. 68 (i, 262) अभिनन्दस्य । This verse is omitted in DF.
11. वसुदेवस्य DC, IO, ASC, PB, VSPA, PT, Comm ; unassigned in ASB. After this, DC, TB, PB, SSP, ASA, VSPA and AKG read here एते लक्ष्मण जानकीविरहितं (no. 252), and all excepting PB and AKG repeat it after no. 251.

अथ पित्रोर्विस्मापनशिक्षणादि

कालिन्दीपुलिने मया न न मया शैलोपशल्ये न न
न्यग्रोधस्य तले मया न न मया राधापितुः प्राङ्गने ।
दृष्टः कृष्ण इतीरिते सनियमं गोपैर्यशोदापते-
र्विस्मेरस्य पुरो हसन्निजगृहान्निर्यन् हरिः पातु वः ॥१४८॥
उमापतिधरस्य ॥

वत्स स्थावरकन्दरेषु विचरन् दूरप्रचारे गवां
हिंस्रान् वीक्ष्य पुरः पुराणपुरुषं नारायणं ध्यास्यसि ।

1. अथ omitted DA, DB, DC, ASC, PA, AKG, VSPA, VSPB ; ०शिक्षादि DC, DF ; ०विस्मापनादि PT ; अथ पित्रादीनां विस्मापनशिक्षादि Comm ; ०विस्मापनं शिक्षणादि च VSPA.

2-3. ननु for न न in all the places, PB ; शैलोपशैल्ये DC, PB, SSP, IO, Comm. The verse is cited in *SKM*, p. 67 (उमापतिधरस्य).

3. न न मया dropped DF ; तले मया प्रचकिता राधापितुः IO.

4. इतीरितस्य सभयं गोपै० *SKM.*

5. हसन्निजगृहे लीयन् (corrected reading) PB.

6. Cited in *KVS* 46 (anonymously) ; *SKM* p. 67 (i, 256) अभिनन्दस्य ; *Subhāṣita-hārāvali* अभिनन्दस्य । VSPB reads as a heading to this verse : अथ यशोदायाः.

7. वत्स.क्ष्माधरगह्वरेषु *KVS* ; विचरंश्चारप्रचारे *KVS, SKM* ; विचरयन् दूरे गवां प्रचारे in defiance of metre DC ; दूरे प्रचारे DB, DF, TB, Comm, VSPA.

8. ध्यायसि DA, *KVS, SKM*, AKG ; ध्यायसे PA ; धास्यसि ASB, PT, Comm, VSPA.

इत्युक्तस्य यशोदया मुररिपोरव्याज्जगन्ति स्फुरद्-
बिम्बोष्ठद्वयगाढपीडनवशादव्यक्तभावं स्मितम् ॥१४६॥
अभिनन्दस्य ॥

रामो नाम बभूव हुं तदबला सीतेति हुं तां पितु-
र्वाचा पञ्चवटीवने निवसतस्तस्याहरद्रावणः ।
कृष्णस्येति पुरातनीं निजकथामाकर्ण्य मात्रेरितां
सौमित्रे क्व धनुर्धनुर्धनुरिति व्यग्रा गिरः पान्तु वः ॥१५०॥
कस्यचित् ॥

श्यामोचन्द्रा स्वपिषि न शिशो नैति मामम्ब निद्रा
निद्राहेतोः शृणु सुत कथां कामपूर्वां कुरुष्व ।

3. अभिनन्दनस्य PT.
4. Cited in *ŚP* 120 वह्लन्धरस्य=Jahlaṇa (Bhandarkar's *Report*, 1887-91, p. xlvi) वह्लन्धरस्य ; *SKM* p. 69 विरिञ्चेः ; *Rasārṇava-sudhākara*, p. 115 (anonymously) ; *SRBh* p. 25, no. 155 (anonymously). *Śrīkṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta*, ii, 72.—हुं नौ पितु॰ *SRBh* ; हुं तां गुरो॰ *Rasārṇava* ; हुं तौ ŚKK.
5. विहरतस्तस्याहरद्रावणः PB, SSP, ASA ; ॰स्तामाहरद्रावणः *SRBh* ; विहरतस्तामाहरद्रावणः ŚKK.
6. कृष्णेनेति PA ; निद्रार्थं जननीकथामिति हरेर्हुङ्कारतः शृण्वतः *Rasārṇava*, ŚKK.
7. क्व धनुधनुरिति त्वरां व्यग्रा (corrupt) PA ; नः for वः ŚKK.
9. Cited in *KVS* 35 (anonymously) ; *SKM* p. 67 (i, 257) शतानन्दस्य. This verse is omitted in PB. Comm has another reading (for श्योमोचन्द्रा स्वपिषि) which is probably, from *pratīkas* explained, मा नूविन्द्रो .शपिषि ; but it also notices the reading of our text with क्वचित्पाठो .दृश्यते ।
10. वदस्व for कुरुष्व PT, Comm. (which also notices our reading).

व्यक्तः स्तम्भान्नरहरिरभूद्दानवं दारयिष्य-
न्नित्युक्तस्य स्मितमुदयते देवकीनन्दनस्य ॥१५१॥
सर्वानन्दस्य ॥

अथ गोरक्षादिलीला

देवस्त्वामेकजङ्घावलयितलगुडीमूर्ध्नि विन्यस्तबाहु-
र्गायन् गोयुद्धगीतिरुपरचितशिरःशेखरः प्रग्रहेण ।
दर्पस्फूर्जन्महोक्षद्वयसमरकलाबद्धदीर्घानुबन्धः
क्रीडागोपालमूर्तिर्मुररिपुरवतादात्तगोरक्षलीलः ॥१५२॥
योगेश्वरस्य ॥

यावद्गोपा मधुरमुरलीनादमत्ता मुकुन्दं
मन्दस्पन्दैरहह सकलैर्लोचनैरापिबन्ति ।

1. व्यक्तस्तम्भा० DD, DF, SSP, VSPA, VSPB ; व्यक्तस्तम्बा० TB ; रक्तस्तम्भा० DC ; व्यक्तं स्तम्भा० DB, PA ; *KVS* and *SKM* read for this line रामो नाम क्षितिपतिरभू-न्माननीयो रघूनां ।
2. स्मितमवतु वो *KVS*, *SKM*. 3. Unassigned DF.
4. अथ omitted PA ; गोरक्षणादि० DA, DD, PA, SSP, ASA, ASC, VSPB, PT, Comm ; the whole heading omitted PB.
5. Cited in *SKM* p. 75 (i, 288) योगेश्वरस्य ।—देवस्त्वामेव जङ्घा० IO, ASC ; ०लगुडीशीर्षविन्यस्त० PA.
10. मधुरमुरलीं वादयन्तं मुकुन्दं IO, ASC.

गावस्तावन्मसृणयवसग्रासलुब्धा विदूरं
याता गोवर्धनगिरिदरीद्रोणिकाभ्यन्तरेषु ॥१५३॥
श्रीकेशवच्छत्रिणः ॥

अथ गोपीनां प्रेमोत्कर्षः

धैर्यं नामपरिग्रहेऽपि जघने यद्यंशुकालम्बनं
गोपीनां च विवेचनं निधुवनारम्भे रहोमार्गणम् ।
साध्वीसच्चरितं विलासविरतौ पत्युर्गृहान्वेषणं
तत्तद्गौरवरक्षणं मुररिपोर्वंशीरवापेक्षणम् ॥१५४॥
सर्वविद्याविनोदभट्टाचार्यस्य ॥

विलोक्य कृष्णं व्रजवामनेत्राः
सर्वेन्द्रियाणां नयनत्वमेव ।
आकर्ण्य तद्वेणुनिनादभङ्गी-
मैच्छन् पुनस्ताः श्रवणत्वमेव ॥१५५॥
कस्यचित् ॥

3. श्री omitted DB, AKG ; केशवस्य DF, PB ; श्रीकेशवस्य PA, IO.
4. अथ omitted PA ; the whole heading omitted PB.
5. मानपरिग्रहेऽपि DB, DF, PB, TB, AKG, VSPA, PT, Comm ; यद्यांशुकालम्बनं AKG ; रम्यांशुकालम्बनं Comm.
9. सर्वविद्याविनोदस्य DF, PA, PB, IO, ASB ; सर्वविद्या-विनोदानां DB, AKG, PT ; सर्व[विद्या]विनोदभट्टाचार्यस्य ASC.
14. ग्रन्थकृतः Comm ; unassigned DF.

अथ गोपीभिः सह खेला

कालिन्दीजलकेलिलोलतरुणीरावीतचीनांशुका
निर्गत्याङ्गजलानि सारितवतीरालोक्य सर्वा दिशः ।
तीरोपान्तमिलन्निकुञ्जभवने गूढं चिरात् पश्यतः
शौरेः सम्भ्रमयन्निमा विजयते साकूतवेणुध्वनिः ॥१५६॥

पुरुषोत्तमदेवस्य ॥

तासु कृष्णस्य भावः

स्वेदाप्लावितपाणिपद्ममुकुलप्रक्रान्तकम्पोदयाद्
विस्रस्तामविजानतो मुरलिकां पादारविन्दोपरि ।

1. लीला for खेला PT, AKG ; अथ omitted VSPA, VSPB, DA, DB, DC, PA ; the whole heading omitted in PB.
5. सम्भ्रमचातुरी विजयते PA.
6. श्री prefixed to the name IO, ASC, PT, AKG ; पुरुषोत्तमस्य VSPA, Comm ; गजपतिपुरुषोत्तम° DD, DF, PB, IO, ASB ; गजपतिश्रीपुरुषोत्तम° PA, VSPB.
7. अथ तासु TB, PT ; श्रीकृष्णस्य ASB, VSPA, VSPB ; the whole heading omitted PA, PB.
8. This verse is omitted in PB. स्वेदप्लावित° PA, ASC, PT ; स्वेदापूरित° VSPB ; °पाणिपद्ममुकुलात् प्रकान्तकम्पोदयो PT only.

लीलावेल्लितवल्लवीकवलितस्वान्तस्य वृन्दावने
जीयात् कंसरिपोस्त्रिभङ्गवपुषः शून्योदया फूत्कृतिः ॥१५७॥

चिरञ्जीवस्य ॥

श्रीकृष्णस्य प्रथमदर्शने राधाप्रश्नः

भ्रू वल्लिताण्डवकलामधुराननश्रीः
कङ्केल्लिकोरककरम्बितकर्णपूरः ।
कोऽयं नवीननिकषोपलतुल्यवेशो
वंशीरवेण सखि मामवशीकरोति ॥१५८॥

कस्यचित् ॥

1. लीलावल्गित PT, Comm ; ०वल्वित DF ; खेलित ASC.
3. चिरञ्जीवकवेः PA.
4. अथ श्रीकृष्णस्य PT, Comm ; कृष्णस्य प्रथम० DB, DD, DF, ASC, PA, IO ; श्रीकृष्णप्रथमदर्शने AKG ; श्रीराधायः प्रश्नः DD, PT ; the whole heading omitted PB.
5. Cited in *Bhakti-rasāmṛta*°. p. 825 (यथा पद्यावल्याम्).
6. कङ्केलि० PB, SSP ; कङ्कल्लि IO ; कङ्कोल्लि PA.
7. नवीननिकषोत्पल० IO, TB, ASB ; ०निकषोपलतुल्यदेहो AKG, Comm.
9. मङ्गलस्य PB ; सर्वविद्याविनोदस्य SSP, ASA ; कस्यचित् मङ्गलस्य VSPB.

इन्दीवरोदरसहोदरमेदुरश्री-
र्वासो द्रवत्कनककृन्दनिभं दधानः ।
आमुक्तमौक्तिकमनोहरहारवक्षाः
कोऽयं युवा जगदनङ्गमयं करोति ॥१५९॥

सर्वविद्याविनोदानाम् ॥

सख्या उत्तरम्

अस्ति कोऽपि तिमिरस्तनन्धयः
किञ्चिदञ्चितपदं स गायति ।
यन्मनागपि निशम्य का वधू-
र्नावधूतहृदयोपजायते ॥१६०॥

कस्यचित् ॥

1. किमुक्तं पुनरुच्यतामिति वदन्तीं सखीं प्रति [राधावाक्यम् added PA ; वदन्तीं omitted TB] read before this verse in DD, DF, PA, TB, IO, AKG, SSP, ASA, ASB, PT. This verse is cited in *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi* (ed. Nirnay Sagar Press, Bombay 1913) p. 417 (यथा पद्यावल्याम्). ०सहोदरलोचनश्री० ASA, ASB.
5. सर्वविनोदानां DC, SSP ; ०विद्याविनोदस्य DF, PA, PB, IO.
6. अथ सख्या DD, SSP, ASA, PT ; सख्युत्तरं AKG.
7. युवराजः स्तनन्धय इति विश्वः DD (marginal gloss).
9. यं मनागपि SSP, AKG, PT.

श्रीराधायाः पूर्वरागः

मनोगतां मन्मथबाणबाधा-
मावेदयन्तीव तनोर्विकारैः ।
दीनानना वाचमुवाच राधा
तदा तदालीजनसम्मुखे सा ॥१६१॥

श्रीपुरुषोत्तमदेवस्य ॥

यदवधि यामुनकुञ्जे घनरुचिरवलोकितः कोऽपि ।
नलिनीदल इव सलिलं तदवधि तरलायते चेतः ॥१६२॥

कविचन्द्रस्य ॥

अकस्मादेकस्मिन् पथि सखि मया यामुनतटं
व्रजन्त्या दृष्टोऽयं नवजलधरश्यामलतनुः ।

1 The heading commences with अथ TB, ASA, ASB, VSPB, PT, Comm ; श्री omitted PA, ASC, VSPB ; श्रीराधिकायाः ASB ; पूर्वानुरागः PA ; PB reads राधापूर्वरागः only.

2. मन्मथरागबाधां IO. 3. ततो विकारैः PA.

6. श्री omitted PA, ASB ; ०देव० omitted DA ; श्रीगजपतिपुरुषोत्तमदेवस्य DB, DF, IO (without श्री) ; unassigned PB.

7. ASB drops all words from यामुनकुञ्जे to the end of सखि मया in l. 10.

9. कवि[च]न्द्रस्य DA ; कवीन्द्रस्य DD, SSP ; कवीन्द्रचन्द्रस्य ASB ; कविरत्नस्य TB.

10. Cited in *Bhakti-rasāyana* (ed. Benares, 1928) p. 92 (anonymously) ; *Bhakti-rasāmṛta°* p. 828 (यथा पद्यावल्याम्) ; *SRBh* p. 300, no. 6 (anonymously). यामुनतटीं PT ; मयामुं वनतटं *SRBh* ; यामुनतटे PB.

11. दृष्टो यो *SRBh*, *Bhakti-rasāmṛta°*.

स दृग्भङ्ग्या किं वाकुरुत न हि जाने तत इदं
मनो मे व्यालोलं क्वचन गृहकृत्ये न वलते ।।१६३।।

जयन्तस्य ।।

पुरो नीलज्योत्स्ना तदनु मृगनाभीपरिमल-
स्ततो लीलावेणुक्वणितमनु काञ्चीकलरवः ।
ततो विद्युद्वल्लीवलयितचमत्कारलहरी-
तरङ्गाल्लावण्यं तदनु सहजानन्द उदगात् ।।१६४।।

कस्यचित् ।।

अद्य सुन्दरि कलिन्दनन्दिनी-
तीरकुञ्जभुवि केलिलम्पटः ।

2, गृहकृत्ये ASA ; for वलते, वलति TB, वसति Comm, चलति DC, PB, लगति ASB, *Bhakti-rasāmṛta*, लगते PA (corrected from वलते), PT.

3. धनञ्जयस्य PA ; unassigned PB, PT.

4. मृगनाभेः परिमल० DB.

5. ०वेणुक्वणितमणिकाञ्ची० DF.

7. तरङ्गा लावण्यं DC, PA, ASC ; तरङ्गं लावण्यं VSPB ; सहजानन्दमुदगात् all Mss (but not in PT, AKG and Comm).

9. This verse is placed after no. 166 in DF, PA, PB, IO, TB, AKG, VSPB. There is a verse in *Gopāla-carita* (also called *Premāmṛta*, ed. Murshidabad, Radharaman Press, 1335 B.S.=1928 A.D.), the first two *pādas* of which (Dānakhaṇḍa, *śl* 13) bear a striking resemblance to the present verse :

पश्य सुन्दरि कलिन्दनन्दिनीवीचिचुम्बनविलासलम्पटः ।
केतकीवनविहारकौतुकी मन्दमन्दमयमेति मारुतः ॥

10. कोऽपि लम्पटः PB.

वादयन् मुरलिकां मुहुर्मुहु-
र्माधवो हरति मामकं मनः ॥१६५॥
कस्यचित् ॥

यदवधि यमुनायास्तीरवानीरकुञ्जे
मुररिपुपदलीला लोचनाभ्यामलोकि ।
तदवधि मम चित्तं कुत्रचित् कार्यमात्रे
न हि लगति मुहूर्तं किं विधेयं न जाने ॥१६६॥
कविचन्द्रस्य ॥

यदवधि यदुनन्दनाननेन्दुः
सहचरि लोचनगोचरीबभूव ।
तदवधि मलयानिलेऽनले वा
सहजविचारपराङ्मुखं मनो मे ॥१६७॥
सञ्जयकविशेखरस्य ॥

असमञ्जसमसमञ्जसमसमञ्जसमेतदापतितम् ।
वल्लवकुमारबुद्ध्या हरि हरि हरिरीक्षितः कुतुकात् ॥१६८॥
शरणस्य ॥

4. वानीर dropped DC.
7. विचित्रं for मुहूर्तं VSPA.
8. कविरत्नस्य TB ; कस्यचित् DD.
11. ०नले dropped SSP, IO.
13. The Ms DE begins again from here with सञ्जय०. PB reads कविशेखरस्य only.
15. The second हरि dropped in DF, PB, IO.
16. केशवस्य PB, VSPB.

शुष्यति मुखमूरुयुगं पुष्यति जडतां प्रवेपते हृदयम् ।
स्विद्यति कपोलपाली सखि वनमाली किमालोकि ॥१६९॥

मुकुन्दभट्टाचार्यस्य ॥

उपरि तमालतरोः सखि परिणतशरदिन्दुमण्डलः कोऽपि ।
तत्र च मुरलीखुरली कुलमर्यादामधो नयति ॥१७०॥

सञ्जयकविशेखरस्य ॥

हन्त कान्तमपि तं दिदृक्षते
मानसं मम न साधु यत्कृते ।
इन्दुरिन्दुमुखि मन्दमारुत-
श्चन्दनं च वितनोति वेदनाम् ॥१७१॥

कस्यचित् ॥

गुरुजनगञ्जनमयशो गृहपतिचरितं च दारुणं किमपि ।
विस्मारयति समस्तं शिव शिव मुरली मुरारातेः ॥१७२॥

सर्वविद्याविनोदानाम् ॥

1. मुखमुरुयुग्मं DA, PB, ASC, VSPB ; मुखमुरुयुगलं DB, DC, DF, TB, IO, ASB, VSPA, PT, Comm.
2. खिद्यति SSP. 3. श्रीमुकुन्द° DC, Comm, VSPA.
4. °मण्डलद्युतिः कोऽपि DB ; °मञ्जुलः कोऽपि PB.
6. कविशेखरस्य only DB ; सञ्जयस्य PA ; कविशेखरसञ्जयस्य PB ; सञ्जयकविराजस्य PT.
7. Cited anonymously in *SRBh*, p. 300, no. 2.
8. न साधु यत्यते *SRBh* ; कृते dropped SSP.
12. Cited in *Bhakti-rasāmṛta°*, p. 821 (यथा पद्यावल्याम्). गुरुजनरञ्जन° PA.
14. सर्वविद्याविनोदस्य PA, PB, AKG.

द्रविणं भवनमपत्यं तावन्मित्रं तथाभिजात्यं च ।
उपयमुनं वनमाली यावन्नेत्रे न नर्तयति ॥१७३॥

तेषामेव ॥

तुष्यन्तु मे छिद्रमवाप्य शत्रवः
करोतु मे शास्तिभरं गृहेश्वरः ।
मणिस्तु वक्षोरुहमध्यभूषणं
ममास्तु वृन्दावनकृष्णचन्द्रमाः ॥१७४॥

कस्यचित् ॥

स्वामी निहन्तु विहसन्तु पुरः सपत्न्यो
भर्तुर्भजन्तु गुरवः पितरश्च लज्जाम् ।
एतावता यदि कलङ्कि कुलं तथास्तु
रामानुजे मम तनोतु मनोऽनुरागम् ॥१७५॥

कस्यचित् ॥

स्वामि कुप्यति कुप्यतां परिजना निन्दन्ति निन्दन्तु मा-
मन्यत् किं प्रथतामयं च जगति प्रौढो ममोपद्रवः ।

3. तस्यैव PA, AKG. PB leaves no. 172 unassigned but writes here सर्वविद्याविनोदस्यैतौ ।
4. Cited in *SRBh* anonymously, p. 300, no. 3.
7. ममास्तु सौन्दर्यनिकेतनं प्रियः *SRBh*.
8. Unassigned in DE, VSPA.
9. पुनः for रः PgA.
14. Cited anonymously in *SRBh*, p. 300, no. 8. PB omits this verse here but reads it after no. 183. परिंजना निन्दन्तु मामन्यवत् *SRBh*.
15. किं तावत् प्रथतामयं *SRBh* ; ०मन्यत् किं तनुतामियं च जगतीप्रौढं ममोपद्रवम् AKG (this reading also noticed and commended in Comm) ; जगतीप्रौढो PT, Comm.

आशास्यं पुनरेतदेव यदिदं चक्षुश्चिरं वर्धतां
येनेदं परिपीयते मुररिपोः सौन्दर्यसारं वपुः ॥१७६॥

पुष्कराक्षस्य ॥

किं दुर्मिलेन मम दूति मनोरथेन
तावन्ति हन्त सुकृतानि कया कृतानि ।
एतावदेव मम जन्मफलं मुरारि-
र्यन्नेत्रयोः पथि बिभर्ति गतागतानि ॥१७७॥

कस्यचित् ॥

सखि मम नियतिहतायास्तद्दर्शनभाग्यमस्तु वा मा वा ।
पुनरपि स वेणुनादो यदि कर्णपथे पतेत्तदेवालम् ॥१७८॥

कस्यचित् ॥

2. येनारात् परिपीयते PB ; परिचीयते *SRBh* ; संसारसारं वपुः PB.

3. Some Mss read the name as पुष्कराख्यस्य, spelling it according to Bengal pronunciation ; कस्यचित् पुष्कराक्षस्य VSPB (only पुष्कराक्षस्य in second citation see no. 183).

4. निर्मिलेन PA.

5. कदा कृतानि PA.

9. This verse is read after no. 179 in VSPA, PT, Comm.

10. यदि मम कर्णपथे PT only : पतेत्तदालं VSPB.

11. दाक्षिणात्यस्य PB ; कस्यचिद् दाक्षिणात्यस्य VSPB ; समाहर्तुः PT ; ग्रन्थकृतः Comm.

तारामिसारक चतुर्थनिशाशशाङ्क
कामाम्बुराशिपरिवर्धन देव तुभ्यम् ।
अर्घो नमो भवतु मे सह तेन यूना
मिथ्यापवादवचसाप्यभिमानसिद्धिः ॥१७९॥

कस्यचित् ॥

अथान्यचतुरसखीवितर्कः

सिद्धान्तयति न किञ्चिद्भ्रमयति दृशमेव केवलं राधा ।
तदवगतं सखि लग्नं कदम्बतरुदेवतामरुता ॥१८०॥

राङ्गस्य ॥

अथ राधां प्रति प्रश्नः

कामं वपुः पुलकितं नयने धृतास्रे
वाचः सगद्गदपदाः सखि कम्पि वक्षः ।

1. Cited in *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi* p. 364 (यथा पद्यावल्याम्)।
3. अर्घो corrected into कुर्मो PA.
5. कस्यचिद् दाक्षिणात्यस्य VSPB.
6. अथ तथान्यचतुर० PT only. 7. भ्रमयति केवलं दृशमेव VSPA.
9. Owing to the confusion between व and र in old Bengali Mss, the name in some Mss (DE, DF, SSP, IO, TB, ASA, ASC, AKG, VSPA, VSPB) occurs as वाङ्गस्य ; वङ्गस्य PB, ASB ; unassigned PA. See no. 193 below.
10. सखीप्रश्नः DA, ASB, ASC, AKG, PT.
11. Cited in *Bhakti-rasāmṛta*° p. 823 (यथा पद्यावल्याम्).
13. सखि वेपथुश्च DA, DB, DF, PA, PB, IO, ASB, ASC, VSPB.

ज्ञातं मुकुन्दमुरलीरवमाधुरी ते
चेतः सुधांशुवदने तरलीकरोति ॥१८१॥

तस्यैव ॥

गतं कुलवधूव्रतं विदितमेव तत्तद्वच-
स्तथापि तरलाशये न विमतासि को दुर्ग्रहः ।
करोमि सखि किं श्रुते दनुजवैरिवंशीरवे
मनागपि मनो न मे सुमुखि धैर्यमालम्बते ॥१८२॥

कस्यचित् ॥

3. वाङ्गस्य PA ; unassigned DF, PB.

5. विरतास्ति दुर्ग्रहः PA. DF drops all words and verses from ०ग्रह up to the end of कस्यचित् (no. 200), but the pagination is continuous ; the verse-numbering, however, indicates the dropping of these passages.

6. Before this line : अथ राधिकोत्तरं DA, DE, SSP, IO, TB, ASA ; कस्यचित् ॥ अथ राधिकोत्तरं DD. After the word सखि PB reads abruptly नित्यनवप्रियोऽसौ etc... कवलीकरोति ॥ श्रीमत्सनातनगोस्वामिनः (no. 233) ; then it reads no. 183, but drops the rest of the present verse (no. 182). करोमि किं सखि DE.

8. Unassigned ASC.

आस्तां तावदकीर्तिर्मे त्वया तथ्यं तु कथ्यताम् ।
चित्तं कथमिवासीत्ते हरिवंशीरवश्रुतौ ॥१८३॥

कस्यचित् ॥

सत्यं जल्पसि दुःसहाः खलगिरः सत्यं कुलं निर्मलं
सत्यं निष्करुणोऽप्ययं सहचरः सत्यं सुदूरे सरित् ।

1. This verse is omitted here by DA, TB, AKG, and placed after no. 184. IO and VSPA omit it altogether. PA omits it also and reads instead : अथ तां प्रति राधाप्रत्युत्तरम् । सत्यं जल्पसि etc (no. 184). DC omits it here and reads it as noted below (note 3 to no. 184). The same in AKG, which, however, reads no. 183 immediately after no. 134. VSPB reads after no. 182 : तां प्रति राधाप्रत्युत्तरम्, then no. 184, then सत्यं शृणोमि (no. 233), then no. 183, after which it repeats no. 176 ; then it goes on to no. 185. तथ्यं नु कथ्यताम् DD, DE, SSP, ASA ; तथ्यं च कथ्यताम् ASC ; थ्यं प्रकथ्यताम् PT.
2. चित्तं कथमिदं वश्यं मम वंशीरवश्रुतौ DC, VSPB ; हरिवंशी-कलश्रुतौ DA.
3. समाहर्तुः DB ; पुष्करान्तस्य DC ; वाङ्गस्य PB, VSPB ; गोविन्दभट्टस्य Comm ; unassigned DA, DD, TB, ASC. After this verse (no. 183), PB reads स्वामी कुप्यति कुप्यतां (no. 176), and omits no. 184 (सत्यं जल्पसि).

तत्सव सखि विस्मरामि झटिति श्रोत्रातिथिर्जायते
चेदुन्मादमुकुन्दमञ्जुमुरलीनिस्वानरागोद्गतिः ॥१८४॥

गोविन्दभट्टस्य ॥

अथ राधां प्रति सखीनर्माश्वासः

निशा जलदसङ्कुला तिमिरगर्भलीनं जग-
द्वयस्तव नवं नवं वपुरपूर्वलीलामयम् ।
अलं सुमुखि निद्रया व्रज गृहेऽपि नक्तञ्चरी
कदम्बवनदेवता नवतमालनीलद्युतिः ॥१८५॥

सर्वविद्याविनोदानाम् ॥

2. ०निःस्वानरागो० PA.

3. श्री prefixed to the name ASB. DC reads after this verse ; सत्यं शृणोमि सखि नित्यनवप्रियोऽसौ (no. 233), and then आस्तां तावदकीर्तिर्मे (no. 183).

4. अथ omitted ASB ; श्रीराधां ASB, PT ; राधिकां VSPB ; सखी omitted IO ; राधां प्रति सखीनामुक्तिः PA ; सखीनर्मोक्तिः ASB, VSPB.

7. गृहेषु नक्तञ्चरी DD, DE, SSP, ASB ; व्रजगृहे (as one word) AKG (this reading also noticed in Comm).

8. नवतमालनीलच्छविः PA ; नवनीलतमालद्युतिः SSP ; नवतमाल-नीलं महः ASC.

9. सर्वविद्याविनोदस्य PA, PB.

कृष्णं प्रति राधानुरागकथनम्

त्वामञ्जनीयति फलासु विलोकयन्ती
त्वां शृण्वती कुवलयीयति कर्णपूरम ।
त्वां पूर्णिमाविधुमुखी हृदि भावयन्ती
वक्षोनिलीननवनीलमणिं करोति ।।१८६।।

कस्यचित ।।

गृहीतं ताम्बूलं परिजनवचोभिर्न सुमुखी
स्मरत्यन्तःशून्या मुरहर गतायामपि निशि ।
तथैवास्ते हस्तः कलितफणिवल्लीकिसलय-
स्तथैवास्यं तस्याः क्रमुकफलफालीपरिचितम् ।।१८७।।

हरिहरस्य ।।

1. अथ prefixed DD, DE, SSP, ASA, PT, AKG : श्रीकृष्णं DB, DC, AKG, PT, VSPB ; श्रीराधा० DB, PT, VSPB.
2. Cited anonymously in *SRBh*, p. 302, no. 44. कलासु for फलासु ASB, VSPB, *SRBh*.
3. कर्णपूरे PA (this reading noticed also in Comm).
5. ०नवनीलमणीकरोति PA, *SRBh* ; ०नीलमलङ्करोति DC, TB (IO corrects this reading into the reading of the text).
6. Unassigned in ASC.
7. Cited in *ŚP* 3475 (बिह्लणस्य) = *Sml* ed, GOS, xliv 18 (बिह्लणस्य) = *SRBh*, p. 302, no. 57 (बिह्लणस्य) = *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi* p. 300 (यथा पद्यावल्याम्). परिजनवचोभिः कथमपि *ŚP*, *SRBh*, *Sml*.
8. स्मरत्यन्तः श्रुत्वा PA ; ०शून्या सुभग विरतायामपि निशि *ŚP* ; सुभग तव मूर्तिं प्रतिदिनम् *SRBh* ; सुभग विगतायामपि निशि *Sml*.

9-10. PT drops all words from हस्तः to the end of स्तथैवास्यं ।

10. स्तथैवासीत्तस्याः *SRBh* ; ०फलपालीपरिचितम् DC, *Sml*.

प्रेमपावकलीढाङ्गी राधा तव जगत्पते ।
शय्यायाः स्खलिता भूमौ पुनस्तां गन्तुमक्षमा ॥१८८॥
मुरहर साहसगरिमा कथमिव वाच्यः कुरङ्गशावाक्ष्याः ।
खेदार्णवपतितापि प्रेमधुरां ते समुद्वहति ॥१८९॥
कविचन्द्रस्येमौ ॥

गायति गीते शंसति वंशे वादयति सा विपञ्चीषु ।
पाठयति पञ्जरशुकं तव सन्देशाक्षरं राधा ॥१९०॥
गोवर्धनाचार्यस्य ॥

राधां प्रति कृष्णानुरागकथनम्

केलीकलासु कुशला नगरे मुरारे-
राभीरनीरजदृशः कति वा न सन्ति ।

2. शय्याया उत्थिता PA.

3. Cited in *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi*, p. 181 (यथा पद्यावल्याम्).

3. कथमिह वाच्यः DA, TB, ASC, AKG, PT ; कथमति VSPA.

4. प्रेमधुरं PA ; न सा त्यजति for ते समुद्वहति *Ujjvala-n.*

5. कविचन्द्रस्यैतौ PB, ASB, PT, AKG, VSPA, VSPB ; कविचन्द्रस्य PA.

6. PB omits this verse. The verse occurs in *Āryā-saptaśatī* of Govardhana (ed. Kāvyamālā no. 211 =ed. Dacca, no. 265)=*SRBh* p. 301, no. 11 (anonymously).

7. तव संवादाक्षरं रामा *Āryā-s.*, *SRBh.*

9. अथ prefixed DD, DE, ASA, ASB, SSP ; श्रीराधां DB, AKG, PT ; श्रीकृष्णानुराग॰ PT, AKG.

10. निपुणा for कुशला DE, SSP, ASA.

11. ॰राभीरपङ्कजदृशः DC, TB, ASB, AKG, PT, VSPA, Comm.

राधे त्वया महदकारि तपो यदेष
दामोदरस्त्वयि परं परमानुरागः ॥१६१॥

कस्यचित् ॥

वत्सान्न चारयति वादयते न वेणु-
मामोदते न यमुनावनमारुतेन ।
कुञ्जे निलीय शिथिलं वलितोत्तमाङ्ग-
मन्तस्त्वया श्वसिति सुन्दरि नन्दसूनुः ॥१६२॥

दैत्यारिपण्डितस्य ॥

सर्वाधिकः सकलकेलिकलाविदग्धः
स्निग्धः स एष मुरशत्रुरनर्घरूपः ।
त्वां याचते यदि भज व्रजनागरि त्वं
साध्यं किमन्यदधिकं भुवने भवत्याः ॥१६३॥

राङ्गस्य ॥

2. परमानुरागी PB, PT, VSPB.

3. Unassigned in DE, PA, SSP, ASA.

6. नमितोत्तमाङ्ग॰ Comm.

10. मुरशत्र रवन्ध्यरूपः PA.

13. The name is given as वाङ्गस्य in some Mss (PA, DE, SSP, IO, TB, ASA, AKG, VSPA, VSPB); but व and र have nearly similar appearance in old Bengali script. See no. 180 above.

अथ राधाभिसारः

मन्दं निधेहि चरणौ परिधेहि नीलं
वासः पिधेहि वलयावलिमञ्चलेन ।
मा जल्प साहसिनि शारदचन्द्रकान्ति-
दन्तांशवस्तव तमांसि समापयन्ति ॥१६४॥

षाण्मासिकस्य ॥

किमुत्तीर्णः पन्थाः कुपितभुजगीभोगविषमो
विषोढा भूयस्यः किमिति कुलपालीकटुगिरः ।
इति स्मारं स्मारं दरदलितशीतद्युतिरुचौ
सरोजाक्षी शोणं दिशि नयनकोणं विकिरति ॥१६५॥

सर्वविद्याविनोदानाम् ॥

1. अथ omitted PA ; श्रीराधा० PT ; अथ राधाया अभिसारः PB ; अथ श्रीराधाया अभिसारः AKG. PT reads after this line the definition of अभिसारिका from *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi*, but all Mss omit it.
2. Cited in *ŚP* 3620 (कस्यापि)=*SKM* (ed. Lahore 1933) ii, 61, 2 (नालस्य) = *SRBh* (anonymously) p. 312, no. 15=Jahlaṇa *Sml* (Bhandarkar *op. cit.* p. liv) हरिहरस्य ; ed. GOS, lxxii, 8 (हरिहरस्य). मन्दं निदेहि DC, IO ; मन्दं विधेहि DD, DE, IO, PT ; पिधेहि for परिधेहि PT only ; वासो for नीलं *ŚP*, *Sml*.
3. नीलं for वासः *ŚP*, *Sml* ; वलयावलिमञ्जनेन PT only ; वलयावलिमंशुकेन *Sml* ; विधेहि for पिधेहि PB.
4. शारदचन्द्रकान्त० DA, IO, ASA, SSP, VSPB, Comm, *ŚP*, *Sml*, *SRBh* ; *SKM* ; मा जल्प मा हस वशारदचन्द्र-कान्त० PA.
9. दरशरदशीत० IO ; शरदसितशीतद्युति० ASC.
11. सर्वविद्याविनोदस्य PA, PB ; सर्वविद्यानां SSP, ASA ; सर्वविनोदानां ASB.

चित्रोत्कीर्णादपि विषधराद्भीतिभाजो रजन्यां
किं वा ब्रूमस्त्वदभिसरणे साहसं माधवास्याः ।
ध्वान्ते यान्त्या यदतिनिभृतं राधयात्मप्रकाश-
त्रासात् पाणिः पथि फणिफणारत्नरोधी व्यधायि ॥१६६॥
कस्यचित् ॥

राधां प्रति सखीवाक्यम्

मन्मथोन्मथितमच्युतं प्रति
ब्रूहि किञ्चन समुल्लसत्स्मितम् ।
किञ्च सिञ्च मृगशावलोचने
लोचनेङ्गितसुधौघनिर्झरैः ॥१६७॥
कस्यचित् ॥

1. Cited in *ŚP* 3494 (हरिहरस्य)=Jalhaṇa (Bhandarkar *op. cit.* p. liv) हरिहरस्य ; ed. GOS, xliv, 33 (हरिहरस्य) =*SRBh* p. 302, no. 50 (हरिहरस्य). निशायां for रजन्यां *ŚP*, *SRBh*, *Sml*.
2. किं तद्ब्रूम० *ŚP* ; किं तु ब्रूम० *SRBh* ; ब्रूमस्त्वदपि शरणे IO ; ब्रूमस्त्वदति शरणे SSP ; नाथ तस्याः for माधवास्याः *ŚP*, *SRBh*, *Sml*.
3. ध्वान्ते गाढे झटिति PA ; यदपि निभृतं Comm ; यदभिनिभृतं PB ; बालया० for राधया० *ŚP*, *SRBh* ; मुग्धया for राधया *Sml* ; ज्योत्स्नया० for राधया० Comm ; राधया स्वप्रकाश० IO, ASC, VSPA.
5. Unassigned DA, DB, DC, IO, ASB.
6. अथ श्रीराधां AKG ; अथ राधां DE, SSP, ASA ; श्रीराधां ASB, PT, AKG ; सखीवाक्यं omitted DB, AKG ; the whole heading omitted in PB.
8. ब्रूहि किं वत PA.
9. सिञ्च सिञ्च PA ; मृगसारलोचने (or ०शार०) IO, ASA, ASB, ASC, VSPA, VSPB.
10. निर्भरैः Comm.
11. Unassigned in DA, DB, IO, ASC.

गोविन्दे स्वयमकरोः सरोजनेत्रे
प्रेमान्धा वरवपुरर्पणं सखि त्वम् ।
कार्पण्यं न कुरु दरावलोकदाने
विक्रीते करिणि किमङ्कुशे विवादः ॥१६८॥
कस्यचित् ॥

अथ क्रीडा

परमानुरागपरयाथ राधया
परिरम्भकौशलविकाशिभावया ।
स तया सह स्मररसभाजनोत्सवं
निरवाहयच्छिखिशिखण्डशेखरः ॥१६९॥
कविराजमिश्रस्य ॥

अस्मिन् कुञ्जे विनापि प्रचलति पवनं वर्तते कोऽपि नूनं
पश्यामः किं न गत्वेत्यनुसरति गणे भीतभीतेऽर्भकाणाम् ।

1. Cited in *Bhakti-rasāmṛta°* p. 487 (यथा पद्यावल्याम्) = *Bhakti-rasāyana* p. 122. This verse is omitted in PB. सरोजनेत्र' PA.
4. This line is cited anonymously in Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Dāna-keli-kaumudī* (ed. Berhampore) p. 200.
5. समाहर्तुः DB, DC, DD, DE, TB, ASA, SSP, AKG, PT,
6. रहःक्रीडा PA, AKG, PT, Comm ; the whole heading omitted in DC, DD, DE, PB, SSP, ASA, VSPA, VSPB.
7. Cited in *Bhakti-rasāmṛta* p. 831 (यथा पद्यावल्याम्).
8. °विभासिभावया PA. 9. स्मरभाजनोत्सवं DD, DE, PT.
10. °च्छिखिखण्डशेखरः PT ; °शिखण्डभूषणः VSPA.
12. Cited in *ŚP* 116 (कस्यापि) = *SRBh* p. 27, no. 190. पवनाद् वर्तते *ŚP*, *SRBh*.
13. किं नु PA ; गणो भीतभीतो PA ; भीतिभीते TB, ASC.

तस्मिन् राधासखो वः सुखयतु विलसन् क्रीडया कैटभारि-
र्व्यातन्वानो मृगारिप्रबलघुरघुरारावरौद्रोच्चनादान् ॥२००॥
कस्यचित् ॥

अथ क्रीडानन्तरं तत्र जानतीनां सखीनां नर्मोक्तिः

इह निचुलनिकुञ्जे मध्यमध्यास्य रन्तु-
र्विजनमजनि शय्या कस्य बालप्रवालैः ।
इति निगदति वृन्दे योषितां पान्तु युष्मान्
स्मितशबलितराधामाधवालोकितानि ॥२०१॥
रूपदेवस्य ॥

1. विलसन् लीलया *ŚP*, *SRBh* ; सुखयतु भगवान् लीलया PB ; भगवान् for विलसन् VSPB.
2. ०रौद्राग्निनादान् PA, *ŚP*.
4. The Ms DF begins again from here with अथ etc. तत्र जानन्तीनां DA.
6. Cited in *SKM*, p. 70 (रूपदेवस्य). प्रतिनिचुलनिकुञ्जं PB ; मध्यमध्येऽस्य *SKM* ; रन्तुं DC, PA.
7. विजनरजनिशय्या DE. 8. निगदित० PB, SSP, PT.
9. सित० for स्मित० PB ; ०सुबलित० PT, Comm ; सबलित or सरलित DF, IO, TB, VSPB.
10. समाहर्तु: DD, DE, SSP, TB, ASA, ASB, AKG, PT, Comm ; DA writes first रूपदेवस्य and then strikes it off with समाहर्तुः written above it. From the citation of *SKM*, it is clear that the verse belongs to an earlier Rūpadeva, and not to our Rūpa Gosvāmin.

अथ मुग्धबालवाक्यम्

कृष्ण त्वद्वनमालया सहकृतं केनापि कुञ्जोदरे
गोपीकुन्तलबर्हदाम तदिदं प्राप्तं मया गृह्यताम् ।
इत्थं दुग्धमुखेन गोपशिशुनाख्याते त्रपानम्रयो
राधामाधवयोर्जयन्ति वलितस्मेरालसा दृष्टयः ॥२०२॥
श्रीलक्ष्मणसेन[देव]स्य ॥

अथ राधया सह दिनान्तरं केलिः तत्र सखीवाक्यम्

अधुना दधिमन्थनानुबन्धं
कुरुषे किं गुरुविभ्रमालसाङ्गि ।
कलसस्तनि लालसीति कुञ्जे
मुरलीकोमलकाकली मुरारेः ॥२०३॥
समाहर्तुः ॥

1. अथान्यमुग्धबाल° DA ; अथ मुग्धवाक्यम् SSP ; अथ मुग्धबालकवाक्यम् ASB ; अन्येद्यु मुंग्धवाक्यम् PA ; अथान्येद्यु मुंग्धवाक्यम् ASC ; अथान्येद्युः only PB : अथ मुग्धं बालवाक्यं VSPA : the heading missing in VSPB.
2. Cited in *SKM* p. 71 (श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणसेनदत्तस्य ?).—सह हृतं DD, DE, TB, AKG, Comm ; कुञ्जान्तरे *SKM*.
3. नीतं for प्राप्तं PA.
4. मुग्धमुखेन DB, DC, TB, VSPB ; गोपशिशुनाप्युक्ते PA ; गोपशिशुना ख्याते TB, AKG ; त्रपानेत्रयो° PB.
6. श्री omitted DF, PB, PT ; देव given only in DA, IO, TB, VSPA ; लक्ष्मणसेननृपस्य PB, VSPB.
7. अथ omitted DA, DB, DF, PA, TB, IO, ASC, VSPA, AKG ; अथवा PB ; श्रीराधया DA, DB, DE ; सह omitted PB ; दिनान्तरकेलिः DD, ASA, PT ; अथ राधया सह omitted in Comm.
7. तत्र च DB ; अत्र PT ; whole sentence omitted DA, ASC.
9. गुरुविभ्रमलालसाङ्गि IO : गुरुविभ्रमालसा AKG.
12. श्रीरूपस्य PA ; रूपस्य PB ; unassigned DF.

अथ तस्याः साकूतवाक्यम्

श्वश्रूरिङ्गितदैवतं नयनयोरीहालिहो यातरः
स्वामी निःश्वसितेऽप्यसूयति मनोजिघ्रः सपत्नीजनः ।
तद्दूरादयमञ्जलिः किमधुना दृग्भङ्गिभावेन ते
वैदग्धीविविधप्रबन्धरसिक व्यर्थोऽयमत्र श्रमः ॥२०४॥

कस्यचित् ॥

सङ्केतीकृतकोकिलादिनिनदं कंसद्विषः कुर्वतो
द्वारोन्मोचनलोलशङ्खवलयक्वाणं मुहुः शृण्वतः ।
केयं केयमिति प्रगल्भजरतीवाक्येन दूनात्मनो
राधाप्राङ्गणकोणकोलिविटपिक्रोडे गता शर्वरी ॥२०५॥

हरस्य ॥

1. अथ तस्याः सखीं प्रति साकूत० AKG ; तत्र for अथ PB ; तत्र सख्याः साकूत० DF ; तत्र तस्याः साकूतं वाक्यम् IO.
2. Cited in *ŚP* 3776 (भिक्षाटनस्य)=*SRBh* p. 369, no. 46 (भिक्षाटनस्य)=*Rasārṇava-sudhākara* (ed. Trivandrum) i, p. 19 (anonymously).
3. This line read as the first *pāda* of the verse in DA, *ŚP*, *SRBh*, *Rasārṇava*. भर्ता for स्वामी *Rasārṇava*.
4. किममुना DB, DD, DE, DF, PB, SSP, AKG, PT, ASA, VSPA, VSAB, *ŚP*, *Rasārṇava* ; दृग्भङ्गिपातेन *Rasārṇava*.
5. वैदग्धीमदनप्रबन्धचतुर *ŚP* ; वैदग्धीमधुरप्रपञ्चचतुर *SRBh* ; वैदग्धीरचनाप्रपञ्चरसिक *Rasārṇava* ; प्रबन्ध dropped in PB, which supplies पद्य for it on the margin.
6. Unassigned VSPA.
7. Cited in *SKM* p. 71 (आचार्यगोपीकस्य)=*Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi* p. 10 (यथा पद्यावल्याम्).
8. ०शङ्खवलयश्रेणिस्वनं शृण्वतः *SKM*. 9. ०जरतीनादेन *SKM*.
10. ०कोणकेलिविटपि० PA, PB. 11. श्रीहरस्य PA.

आहूताद्य महोत्सवे निशि गृहं शून्यं विमुच्यागता
क्षीवः प्रेष्यजनः कथं कुलवधूरेकाकिनी यास्यति ।
वत्स त्वं तदिमां नयालयमिति श्रुत्वा यशोदागिरो
राधामाधवयोर्जयन्ति मधुरस्मेरालसा दृष्टयः ॥२०६॥

श्रीलक्ष्मणसेनदेवस्य ॥

गच्छाम्यच्युत दर्शनेन भवतः किं तृप्तिरुत्पद्यते
किं त्वेवं विजनस्थयोर्हतजनः सम्भावयत्यन्यथा ।
इत्यामन्त्रणभङ्गिसूचितवृथावस्थानखेदालसा-
माश्लिष्यन् पुलकोत्कराञ्चिततनुर्गोपीं हरिः पातु वः ॥२०७॥

कस्यचित् ॥

1. Cited in *SKM* ii, 54, 5 (श्रीमत्केशवसेनस्य). आहूताद्य DD, DE; मयोत्सवे DD, DE, PB, VSPB, ASA, ASB, *SKM*; निजगृहं शून्यं DD, DE; शून्यं विलोक्यागता IO.

5. श्री omitted DA, DC, DF, IO, PB, VSPB, PA, ASC, SSP, ASA, AKG, Comm; सेन omitted DB, DD, DE, ASA, ASB, SSP; लक्ष्मणसेननृपस्य DC, VSPB, PB; देव omitted TB, PA, ASC, PT, Comm.

6. Cited in *ŚP* 118 (कस्यापि) = Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Nāṭaka-candrikā* śl. 624 (यथा पद्यावल्याम्) = *Kāvya-prakāśa ad* v, 2 = *SRBh* p. 25, no. 154 (anonymously) = *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* p. 75 (anonymously).

8. ०खेलालसा VSPA.

9. पुलकाङ्कुराञ्चित० *ŚP*; ०तनुं PB, *Rasārṇava*.

10. दाक्षिणात्यस्य PB, AKG; कस्यचिद् दाक्षिणात्यस्य VSPB.

अथ सखीनर्म

सखि पुलकिनी सकम्पा बहिःस्थलीतस्त्वमालयं प्राप्ता ।
विक्षोभितासि नूनं कृष्णभुजङ्गेन कल्याणि ॥२०८॥

समाहर्तुः ॥

अथ पुनरन्येद्युरभिसारिका

तत्र सखीवाक्यम्

अक्रान्तद्युतिभिर्वसन्तकुसुमैरुत्तंसयन् कुन्तला-
नन्तः खेलति खञ्जरीटनयने कुञ्जेषु कञ्जेक्षणः ।
अस्मान्मन्दिरकर्मतस्तव करौ नाद्यापि विश्राम्यतः
किं ब्रूमो रसिकाग्रणीरसि घटी नेयं विलम्बक्षमा ॥२०९॥

तस्यैव ॥

1. अथ सख्या नर्म ASC ; अथ सखीनर्मवाक्यम् ASB.
2. बहिः स्खलित० DE, DF.
4. रूपस्य PB ; unassigned here in PA, but see note 11 below to the next verse (no. 209).
5. ०भिसारिका यथा PT ; अथ कदाचित् सखीवाक्यम् PB ; अथ omitted VSPB.
7. This verse is omitted in SSP.
11. रूपस्य PB ; श्रीरूपस्येतौ PA ; समाहर्तुः ASB, VSPB.

परीक्षणकारिणीं सखीं प्रति राधावाक्यम्

लज्जैवोद्घटिता किमत्र कुलिशोद्बद्धा कपाटस्थिति-
र्मर्यादैव विलङ्घिता पथि पुनः केयं कलिन्दात्मजा ।
आक्षिप्ता खलदृष्टिरेव सहसा व्यालावली कीदृशी
प्राणा एव समर्पिताः सखि चिरं तस्मै किमेषा तनुः ॥२१०॥

कस्यचित् ॥

द्वित्रैः केलिसरोरुहं त्रिचतुरैर्धम्मिल्लमल्लीस्रजं
कण्ठान्मौक्तिकमालिकां तदनु च त्यक्त्वा पदैः पञ्चषैः ।

1. अथ परीक्षया० AKG ; सखीं omitted ASC ; श्रीराधा० DB, DD, AKG, PT ; राधावचनं DF ; वाक्यं only for राधावाक्यम् IO ; परीक्षाकारिणीं प्रति only, PA ; PB reads instead अथेयमभिसारिका only ; the whole heading omitted SSP.
2. Cited anonymously in *SRBh* p. 294, no. 111. कुलिशोद्भिन्ना कपाटावली *SRBh* ; कवाट० ASC, DC, VSPA, VSPB, PT, Comm.
3. सखि for पथि PT.
4. किमियं for सहसा and वा पुनः for कीदृशी *SRBh*.
5. पुनः for चिरं *SRBh*. 6. Unassigned in DC, VSPA.
7. Cited anonymously in *SRBh* p. 373, no. 35= *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi* p. 287 (यथा पद्यावल्याम्). केलि-सरोजकं PA.
8. ०मालिकां च तदनु *SRBh* ; पञ्चभिः for पञ्चषैः *SRBh* ; पञ्चकैः VSPB.

कृष्णप्रेमविघूर्णितान्तरतया दूराभिसारातुरा
तन्वङ्गी निरुपायमध्वनि परं श्रोणीभरं निन्दति ॥२११॥
कस्यचित् ॥

अथ वासकसज्जा

तल्पं कल्पय दूति पल्लवकुलैरन्तर्लतामण्डपे
निर्बन्धं मम पुष्पमण्डनविधौ नाद्यापि किं मुञ्चसि ।
पश्य क्रीडदमन्दमन्धतमसं वृन्दाटवीं तस्तरे
तद्गोपेन्द्रकुमारमत्र मिलितप्रायं मनः शङ्कते ॥२१२॥
श्रीरघुनाथस्य ॥

1. अन्तः कान्तवियोगकातरतया दूराभिसारातुरा *SRBh.*
2. Unassigned in PB, ASB, VSPA., AKG begins, after this verse, खण्डनायासनिर्वेदाया० etc and goes on with no. 220, 221, 222 (with its heading), 223 (with a slightly different heading).
4. तस्या वासकसज्जाया वाक्यम् PA, PB. After this PT gives the definition of वासकसज्जा from the *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi*, but this is omitted in all Mss.
7. क्रीडदमन्दमन्दतमसं PA, ASB, VSPB ; क्रीडदमन्धतमसं PB ; वृन्दाटवीतल्तरे DB, DF, PA, ASC ; वृन्दाटवीगह्वरे DC, VSPA.
9. श्री omitted DB, DF, VSPB, AKG ; श्रीरघुनाथदासस्य PT, Comm ; रघुनाथदासस्य AKG ; रूपस्य PB.

अथोत्कण्ठिता

सखि स विजितो वीणावाद्यैः कयाप्यपरस्त्रिया
पणितमभवत्ताभ्यां तत्र क्षपाललितं ध्रुवम्।
कथमितरथा शेफालीषु स्खलत्कुसुमास्वपि
प्रसरति नभोमध्येऽपीन्दौ प्रियेण विलम्ब्यते ॥२१३॥

कस्यचित् ॥

अरतिरियमुपैति मां न निद्रा
गणयति तस्य गुणान्मनो न दोषान्।

1. उत्कण्ठितायास्तस्या वाक्यम् PA, VSPB ; उत्कण्ठिताया वाक्यम् PB. PT gives a definition of उत्कण्ठिता from *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi*, but all Mss omit it.
2. Cited in *SKM* ii, 36, 3 (रुद्रटस्य)=*Daśarūpaka al* ii, 23 (anonymously)=*SRBh* p. 375, no. 98 (anonymously). विहितो वीणावाद्यः कयास्य परस्त्रिया PA ; वीणावाद्ये DE, PB, SSP, ASA, ASC, AKG, Comm ; विजितो लीलाद्यूते कयापि परस्त्रिया *SKM*.
3. पणितमभवत्ताल्पं PA ; तस्मिन्निशाललितं *SKM* ; क्षपालसितं TB.
4. बलत्कुसुमास्वपि PA. 5. स्थितवति for प्रसरति *SKM*.
6. दामोदरस्य PB.
7. Cited in *KVS* 437 (प्रवरसेनस्य)=*SKM* ii, 36, 3 (प्रवरसेनस्य)=*Sbhv* 1113 (कस्यापि)=*ŚP* 3437 (विह्लणस्य)=*Sml*, ed. GOS, xl, 3 (कस्यापि)=*SRBh* p. 297, no. 17 (बिह्लणस्य). This verse is also cited and translated by Aufrecht in *ZDMG*, xxvii, p. 55. नापि निद्रा *SRBh*.
8. प्रथयति *Sbhv*, गमयति *SKM* for गणयति ; मनो गुणान्न दोषान् *Sbhv*.

विरमति रजनी न सङ्गमाशा
व्रजति तनुस्तनुतां न चानुरागः ॥२१४॥

कङ्कस्य ॥

अथ विप्रलब्धा

उत्तिष्ठ दूति यामो यामो यातस्तथापि नायातः ।
यातः परमपि जीवेज्जीवितनाथो भवेत्तस्याः ॥२१५॥

तस्यैव ॥

1. विगलति for विरमति *KVS*, *ŚP*, *Sml*, *SRBh* ; सङ्गमेच्छा Aufrecht.
3. शङ्करस्य DB, DC ; राङ्कस्य PT, Comm ; षाङ्गस्य AKG : unassigned DF, IO ; तस्यैव (?) VSPA.
4. तस्या विप्रलब्धाया वाक्यम् PA ; विप्रलब्धावाक्यम् PB. After this PT gives the definition of विप्रलब्धा as before, but all Mss omit it. The same after the heading अथ खण्डिता below.
5. Cited in *Sbhv* 1940 (कस्यापि)=*Sml.* ed. GOS, lxxi, 15 (कस्यापि)=*Sāhitya-darpaṇa* on iii, 83 (anonymously)=*SRBh* p. 374, no, 69.
6. जीवति जीवितनाथो *Sbhv* ; जीवितनाथो *Sml.*
7. कस्यचित् DF, IO ; unassigned DC, PẠ, ASB.

अथ खण्डिता

लाक्षालक्ष्म ललाटपट्टमभितः केयूरमुद्रा गले
वक्त्रे कज्जलकालिमा नयनयोस्ताम्बूलरागो घनः ।
दृष्ट्वा कोपविधायि मण्डनमिदं प्रातश्चिरं प्रेयसो
लीलातामरसोदरे मृगदृशः श्वासाः समाप्तिं गताः ॥२१६॥

औत्कलस्य ॥

तस्या वाक्यम्

कृतं मिथ्याजल्पैर्विरम विदितं कामुक चिरात्
प्रियां तामेवोच्चैरभिसर यदीयैर्नखपदैः ।

1. अथ खण्डितात्वम् PA.
2. Occurs in *Amaru-śataka*, ed. Simon, no. 71, p. 170 =ed. Kāvyamālā no. 60 ; cited in *SKM* ii, 24, 4 (अमरोः)=*ŚP* 3740 (अमरुकस्य)=*Sbhv* 2215 (दाक्षिणात्यस्य कस्यापि)=*Sml*, ed. GOS, lxxxii, 17 (अमरुकस्य) =*Daśarūpaka*, on ii 6 (अमरुशतके)=*SRBh* p. 372, no.20 (अमरुकस्य). लाक्षालक्ष्म तथा ललाटमभितः PA ; ललाटपट्टफलके *SRBh*.
3. °स्ताम्बूलरागोदयः *SKM*, some Mss of *Amaru-śataka* ; °स्ताम्बूलरागोद्गमः DA, Comm ; °स्ताम्बूलरागोऽपरः *SRBh*, *Daśarūpaka*, some Mss of *Amaru-śataka* ; °स्ताम्बूलरागः परः *ŚP*, *Sbhv*.
4. प्रेयसः *SKM*. 9. क्रीडातामरसोदरेऽम्बुजदृशः *SKM*.
6. Unassigned IO.
7. Omitted PA, PT ; अथ तस्या वाक्यम् AKG ; अस्या वाक्यम् PB, VSPB.
8. Occurs in Rudrabhaṭṭa's *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka* (ed.Pischel) i, 80=*Sml*, ed. GOS, lviii, 8 (रुद्रस्य). अलं मिथ्यावादै° *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka*, *Sml* ; मिथ्यालापै° PB.
9. तदीयै° for यदीयै° PA.

विलासैश्च प्राप्तं तव हृदि पदं रागबहुलै-
र्मया किं ते कृत्यं ध्रुवमकुटिलाचारपरया ॥२१७॥
रुद्रस्य ॥

सार्धं मनोरथशतैस्तव धूर्त कान्ता
सैव स्थिता मनसि कृत्रिमभावरम्या ।
अस्माकमस्ति न हि कश्चिदिहावकाश-
स्तस्मात् कृतं चरणपातविडम्बनाभिः ॥२१८॥
तस्यैव ॥

अनलङ्कृतोऽपि माधव हरसि मनो मे सदा प्रसभम् ।
किं पुनरलङ्कृतस्त्वं सम्प्रति नखरक्षतैस्तस्याः ॥२१९॥
विश्वनाथस्य ॥

1. परं for पदं PB, VSPB.
2. मया ते किं कृत्यं *Sṛṅgāra-t.* 3. Unassigned VSPB.
4. Occurs in Rudrabhaṭṭa's *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka* i, 68=*SKM* ii, 23, 2 (कस्यचित्)=*ŚP* 3563 (कस्यापि)=*Sml*, ed. GOS, lvii, 16 (रुद्रस्य)=*Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, on iii, 620=*SRBh* p. 323, no. 1.
5. सैवास्ति ते मनसि *Śṛṅgāra-t.*
6. न च कश्चिदिहावकाश० PA, *SKM* ; न कथञ्चिदिहावकाश० *Śṛṅgāra-t.*, *ŚP*, *SRBh.*
8. तेषामेव PA ; unassigned IO.
9. Occurs in Viśvanātha's *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, on iii, 63 (यथा मम). छन्दर for माधव, यतः for सदा *Sāhitya-darpaṇa.*

खण्डनाप्तनिर्वेदायास्तस्या वायम्

व्यतीताः प्रारम्भाः प्रणयबहुमानो विगलितो
दुराशा याता मे परिणतिरियं प्राणितुमपि ।
यथेष्टं चेष्टन्तां विरहिवधविख्यातयशसो
विभावा मय्येते पिकमधुसुधांशुप्रभृतयः ॥२२०॥

पुरुषोत्तमदेवस्य ॥

मा मुञ्च पञ्चशर पञ्चशरीं शरीरे
मा सिञ्च सान्द्रमकरन्दरसेन वायो ।
अङ्गानि तत्प्रणयभङ्गविगर्हितानि
नालम्बितुं कथमपि क्षमतेऽद्य जीवः ॥२२१॥

तस्यैव ॥

1. अथ खण्डनयाप्त० DB, DC ; खण्डनयाप्त० VSPA; खण्डनायाप्त० AKG, PT ; खण्डनाप्तनिबन्धाया वाक्यम् PA ; तस्या एव-निर्विण्णाया वाक्यम् PB, VSPB ; आप्तनिर्वेदायास्तस्या वाक्यम् TB.
2. प्रणयपरिणामो SSP.
3. दुराशा जाता मे DA ; परिणतिमियं DB, DC, TB, PA, PB, AKG, Comm ; परिणतिमिमां PT.
4. चेष्टन्ते PA.
6. Unassigned PB, VSPB.
7. Cited in *Bhakti-rasāmṛta°* p. 824 (यथा पद्यावल्याम्). पञ्चशरीं शरीरं DA (explained as शरीरं लक्ष्यीकृत्य!).
10. क्षमते न जीवः PA.
11. पुरुषोत्तमदेवस्य PB ; पुरुषोत्तमदेवस्यैतौ VSPB.

पुनः सायमायाति माधवे सखीशिक्षा

कञ्चन वञ्चनचतुरे प्रपञ्चय त्वं मुरान्तके मानम् ।
बहुवल्लभे हि पुरुषे दाक्षिण्यं दुःखमुद्वहति ॥२२२॥
समाहर्तुः ॥

अथ मानिनी 5

भवतु विदितं छद्मालापैरलं प्रिय गम्यतां
तनुरपि न ते दोषोऽस्माकं विधिस्तु पराङ्मुखः ।

1. अथ पुनः AKG ; सायाति माधवे ASB ; सायमायाते माधवे ASC ; पुनः सायमायाति कृष्णस्तं वीक्ष्य सखीशिक्षा DA.
2. Cited in *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi* p. 161 (यथा पद्यावल्याम्).
3. दाक्षिण्यदुःखमुद्वहति PT.
4. श्रीरूपस्य PA ; रूपस्य PB.
5. [अथ VSPB श्री-AKG] हरिं प्रति मानिनी [श्री AKG] राधा-वाक्यम् PA, PB, AKG, VSPB.
6. Occurs in *Amaru-śataka*, ed. Simon, no. 28, p. 74 =ed. Kāvyamālā no. 30. Cited in *KVS* (धर्मकीर्तेः) =*Sbhv* 1617 (भदन्तधर्मकीर्तेः)=*Sml*, ed. GOS, lvii, 6 (धर्मकीर्तेः)=*SKM* ii, 47, 3 (अमरोः)=*SRBh* p. 372, no. 16 (भदन्तधर्मकीर्तेः). व्यर्थालापैः° *Amaru-ś* (both eds.), *Sbhv*, *Sml*, *SRBh* ; कृत्यालापैः° *KVS* ; भव्यालापैः DB, DC, DF, IO, TB, ASB, VSPA, VSPB, *SKM* in some Mss of *Amaru-ś* ; जिह्मालापैः° PA ; अलं खलु गम्यतां in some Mss of *Amaru-ś*.

तव यदि तथाभूतं प्रेम प्रपन्नमिमां दशां
प्रकृतिचपले का नः पीडा गते हतजीविते ॥२२३॥
अमरोः ॥

कस्त्वं तासु यदृच्छया कितव यास्तिष्ठन्ति गोपाङ्गनाः
प्रेमाणं न विदन्ति यास्तव हरे किं तासु ते कैतवम् ।
एषा हन्त हताशया यदभवं त्वय्येकताना परं
तेनास्याः प्रणयोऽधुना खलु मम प्राणैः समं यास्यति ॥२२४॥
पुरुषोत्तमदेवस्य ॥

निष्क्रामति कृष्णे सखीवाक्यम्

साचिकन्धरममुं किमीक्षसे
यातु यातु सखि पूतनार्दनः ।
वामरीतिचतुरां हि पामरीं
सेवतां परमदेवतामिव ॥२२५॥
समाहर्तुः ॥

1. तथारूढं प्रेम *Amaru-ś* (both eds.), *Sbhv*, *KVS*, *Sml*, *SRBh*.
2. प्रकृतितरले *Amaru-ś* (both eds.), *Sbhv*, *Sml*, *SRBh*. The v. l. प्रकृतिकृपणे is noticed in some Mss of Amaru.
8. गजपतिपुरुषोत्तमदेवस्य PA.
9. कृष्णे राधां प्रति सखी० DA.
10. This verse is omitted in PB.
12. तु for हि DD, DE, SSP, ASA.
14. श्रीरूपस्य PA.

कृष्णदूतीवाक्यम्

प्रेमावगाहनकृते मानं मा कुरु चिराय करभोरु ।
नाकर्णि किं नु मुग्धे जातं पीयूषमन्थने गरलम् ॥२२६॥
विधुमुखि विमुखीभावं भाविनि मद्भाषणे मा गाः ।
मूढे निगमनिगूढः कतिपयकल्याणतो मिलति ॥२२७॥
राङ्गस्यैतौ ॥

दूतीं प्रति राधावाक्यम्

अलमलमघृणस्य तस्य नाम्ना
पुनरपि सैव कथा गतः स कालः ।

1. श्रीकृष्णदूती० DA, DB, DC, ASB, PT; अथ श्रीकृष्ण० AKG.
3. किमु मुग्धे IO ; नु dropped TB. After this verse (no. 226), PB and VSPB read वाङ्गस्य, and तस्यैव after the next verse (no. 227).
4. निगम० dropped in PT.
6. Apparently वाङ्गस्यैतौ in DE, DF, PA, IO, TB, ASA, ASB ; राङ्कस्यैतौ PT ; राङ्कस्येमौ VSPA.
7. अथ दूतीं AKG ; तां दूतीं TB ; तां प्रति PB, VSPB ; श्रीराधा० AKG, PT, PB ; राधावचनं DA ; राधिकावाक्यं VSPA.
8. *Sbhv* 1418 (वासुदेवस्य) = *ŚP* 3513 (वासुदेवस्य) = *SRBh* p. 306, no. 2 (वासुदेवस्य) = *Sml* ed. GOS, xlvii, 3 (unassigned) = cited and translated by Aufrecht in *ZDMG*, xxvii, p. 48. Attributed to Jhalajjhala Vāsudeva, see *KVS*, introd. p. 41.

कथय कथय वा वृथापि दूति
प्रतिवचनं द्विषतोऽपि माननीयम् ॥२२८॥
अङ्गदस्य ॥

अथ कलहान्तरिता

तां प्रति दक्षिणसखीवाक्यम् 5

अनालोच्य प्रेम्णः परिणतिमनादृत्य सुहृद-
स्त्वयाकाण्डे मानः किमिति सरले प्रेयसि कृतः ।

1. वा dropped in PT. 2. द्विषतोरपि DD. 3. अङ्गस्य SSP.

4. तां कलहान्तरितां प्रति दक्षिण० PA ; अथ तां कलहान्तरितां प्रति दक्षिण० AKG ; अथ कलहान्तरितां प्रति दक्षिण० PB, VSPB. PT reads after this the definition of कलहान्तरिता from *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi*, but all Mss omit it.

5. Occurs in *Amaru-śataka*, ed. Simon, no. 84, p. 112 =ed. Kāvyamālā no. 80. Cited in *Sbhv* 1170 (कस्यापि) = *KVS* 372 (विकटनितम्बायाः)= *SKM* ii, 42 1 (unassigned)= *Sml* ed. GOS, lvi, 9 (वाकूटस्य or वंकुटस्य) ; but according to Bhandarkar, *op. cit.* p. xlvii, it is assigned in *Sml* to Vāsudeva.

7. ०स्त्वया कान्ते PT, *SKM* ; सम्प्रति घृतः *Sbhv*, सम्प्रति कृतः *Sml*. The readings त्वया काले, त्वया मुग्धे as well as त्वया कान्ते are given in some Mss of Amaru (ed. Simon) ; also the readings तरले for सरले, सम्प्रति घृतः for प्रेयसि कृतः in the same.

समाकृष्टा ह्येते विरहदहनोद्भासुरशिखाः
स्वहस्तेनाङ्गारास्तदलमधुनारण्यरुदितैः ॥२२९॥

अमरोः ॥

अथ कर्कशसखीवाक्यम्

मानबन्धमभितः श्लथयन्ती
गौरवं न खलु हारय गौरि ।
आर्जवं न भजते दनुजारि-
र्वञ्चके सरलता न हि साध्वी ॥२३०॥

समाहर्तुः ॥

1. समाश्लिष्टा PT ; समाकृष्य AKG ; समाकृष्टा एव *Sml* ; प्रलयदहनो॰ *Amaru-ś* (both eds.), *Sbhv* ; प्रणयदहनो॰ in one Ms in Simon's ed. ; ॰दहनोद्भास्वरशिखाः DD, DE, PA, SSP, ASA, ASB, ASC, VSPA, AKG, Comm ; ॰दहनोड्डामरशिखाः *SKM.*
2. स्वहस्तेना॰ IO, ASC ; ॰मधुना तस्य रुदितैः *Sbhv.*
3. अमरुकस्य PA.
8. सरलता हि न साध्वी DA, DD, DE, PA, SSP, ASA.
9. श्रीरूपस्य PA ; श्रीमद्रूपस्य PB ; समाहर्तुः रूपस्य VSPB.

तां प्रति राधावाक्यम्

भ्रूभङ्गो गुणितश्चिरं नयनयोरभ्यस्तमामीलनं
रोद्धुं शिक्षितमादरेण हसितं मौनेऽभियोगः कृतः ।
धैर्यं कर्तुमपि स्थिरीकृतमिदं चेतः कथञ्चिन्मया
बद्धो मानपरिग्रहे परिकरः सिद्धिस्तु दैवे स्थिता ॥२३१॥

अमरोः ॥

जानामि मौनमलसाङ्गि वचोविभङ्गी-
भङ्गीशतं नयनयोरपि चातुरीं च ।

1. अथ तां प्रति AKG ; तां सखीं प्रति PA ; श्रीराधा० DB, DC, VSPB, AKG, PT ; प्रति राधिका० ASB.
2. Occurs in *Amaru-śataka*, ed. Simon, no. 95 p. 118 = ed. Kāvyamālā no. 97. Cited in *SKM*, ii, 46, 3 (धर्मकीर्तेः) = *Sbhv* 1578 (अमरुकस्य) = *KVS* 358 (धर्मकीर्तेः) = Nami-sādhu on Rudraṭa's *Kāvyālaṃkāra* (vii, 46, anonymously) = *Sml* ed. GOS, lv, 4 (अमरुकस्य). But according to Bhandarkar *op. cit.*, p. xlvi, the verse is assigned to वाग्भट in *Sml*, although in *Sml* P. 84 b it is assigned to अमरुक. भ्रूभेदो for भ्रूभङ्गो *Amaru-ś* (both eds.), *Sbhv*, *SKM*, Nami ; भ्रूभङ्गोऽगुणितः AKG ; रचित० for गुणित० *SKM*.
5. बद्धो मानपरिग्रहः परिकरे *KVS*.
7. मौनमकृशाङ्गि Comm ; वचोविभङ्गीं PA, SSP, ASA, ASB; वचोविभङ्गीभङ्गीशतं DD, AKG, Comm.

आभीरनन्दनमुखाम्बुजसङ्गशंसी
वंशीरवो यदि न मामवशीकरोति ॥२३२॥
कस्यचित् ॥

सत्यं शृणोमि सखि नित्यनवप्रियोऽसौ
गोपस्तथापि हृदयं मदनो दुनोति ।
युक्त्या कथञ्चन समं गमितेऽपि तस्मिन्
मां तस्य कालमुरली कवलीकरोति ॥२३३॥
श्रीमत्प्रभूणाम् ॥

न जाने सम्मुखायाते प्रियाणि वदति प्रिये ।
प्रयान्ति मम गात्राणि श्रोत्रतां किमु नेत्रताम् ॥२३४॥
कस्यचित् ॥

3. Unassigned in DA, ASB, ASC, VSPB.
4. This verse is omitted here by PB, but see above nos. 182 and 184 (footnotes).
5. गोपस्तथापि मदनो हृदयं दुनोति DA ; धुनोति for दुनोति ASB.
6. शक्त्या IO ; कथञ्चन शमं गमितेऽपि DE, PB, PA, ASA, ASB, AKG, Comm (which notices the reading of the text also), VSPA, VSPB.
7. तस्य हन्त मुरली DB, DC ; ०मुरली तरलीकरोति DF, IO.
8. श्रीमत्प्रभोः PA ; श्रीमत्प्रभुपादानां ASB, PT ; श्रीमत्सनातन-गोस्वामिनः PB ; श्रीमत्सनातनपादानां Comm.
9. Occurs in *Amaru-śataka*, ed. Simon, II 63, p. 128 =ed. Kāvyamālā no. 64. Cited in *SKM* ii, 97, 5 (अमरोः)=*ŚP* 3522 (कस्यापि)=*Sbhv* 2038 (कस्यापि) =*SRBh*, p. 286, no. 1 (anonymously).
10. सर्वाण्यङ्गानि किं यान्ति [यान्तु *Sbhv*] नेत्रतामुत कर्णताम् *ŚP* *Sbhv*, *SRBh* ; नेत्रतां श्रोत्रतां किमु DD ; नेत्रतामुत कर्णताम् SSP, ASA, DF (corrected from नेत्रतां श्रोत्रतां किमु) नेत्रतां किमु श्रोत्रताम् Comm ; श्रोत्रतामुत नेत्रताम् VSPB.

मुरारिं पश्यन्त्याः सखि सकलमङ्गं न नयनं
कृतं यच्छृण्वन्त्या हरिगुणगणं श्रोत्रनिचितम् ।
समं तेनालापं सपदि रचयन्त्या मुखमयं
विधातुर्नैवायं घटनपरिपाटीमधुरिमा ॥२३५॥

शरणस्य ॥

अथ सख्याः साभ्यसूयवाक्यम्

त्वमसि विशुद्धा सरले मुरलीवक्त्रस्त्रिधा वक्रः ।
भङ्गुरया खलु सुलभं तदुरः सखि वैजयन्त्येव ॥२३६॥

समाहर्तुः ॥

अथ क्षुभितराधिकोक्तिः

निःश्वासा वदनं दहन्ति हृदयं निर्मूलमुन्मथ्यते
निद्रा नैति न दृश्यते प्रियमुखं रात्रिन्दिवं रुद्यते ।

1. सकलमङ्गं तु नयनं DD, DE, SSP, ASA.
2. श्रृण्वत्या in some Mss. 4. घनपरिपाटी॰ PB.
6. तस्याः for सख्याः DC ; सख्याः omitted in DF ; साभ्यसूयं वाक्यम् DF, IO, TB, ASB, ASC, VSPA, AKG ; only सखीवाक्यम् PB ; अथ साभ्यसूयं सखीवाक्यं VSPB.
7. त्वमपि विशुद्धा PT, VSPA.
9. श्रीरूपस्य PA; श्रीरूपगोस्वामिनां PB; रूपस्य समाहर्तुः VSPB.
10. अथ omitted ASB ; क्षुभितराधोक्तिः DB, DC ; क्षुभित-श्रीराधोक्तिः AKG ; क्षुभितराधावाक्यम् PB, VSPB ; only राधोक्तिः PA.
11. Occurs in *Amaru-śataka* ed. Simon, no. 98, p. 120 = ed. Kāvyamālā no. 92. Cited in *SKM* ii, 41, 2 (anonymously) = *Sbhv* 1157 (anonymously) = *ŚP* 3543 (कस्यापि) = *Daśarūpaka*, on ii, 24a (anonymously). निर्मूलमुन्मूल्यते PA, *ŚP*, *SKM*, Amaru (ed. Simon).
12. नक्तन्दिवं *SKM*.

अङ्गं शोषमुपैति पादपतितः प्रेयांस्तथोपेक्षितः
सख्यः कं गुणमाकलय्य दयिते मानं वयं कारिताः ॥२३७॥
अमरोः ॥

मानजविरहेण ध्यायन्तीं तां प्रति कस्याश्चिद्वाक्यम्

आहारे विरतिः समस्तविषयग्रामे निवृत्तिः परा
नासाग्रे नयनं यदेतदपरं यच्चैकतानं मनः ।

1. प्रेयांस्तु नोपेक्षितः PA ; प्रेयान्न सम्भाव्यते *SKM* ; प्रेयांस्तदोपेक्षितः *ŚP*, *Sbhv*, Amaru (ed. Kāvyamālā).
3. अमरुकस्य PA.
4-5. The sentence begins with अथ ASB ; मानविरहेण DB, DC, VSPB ; मारजविरहेण AKG, VSPA ; ध्यानपरां PB ; तां omitted ASC ; ध्यानपरीतां प्रति VSPB ; कस्यचिद्वाक्यम् IO, TB ; सख्या वाक्यम् ASC ; the whole heading omitted in SSP.
6. Cited in *KVS* 416 (unassigned) = *SKM* ii, 25, 2 (राजशेखरस्य) = *Sbhv* 3485 (unassigned) = *ŚP* 3423 (राजशेखरस्य) = *Sml*, ed. GOS, xxxix, 3 (राजशेखरस्य) = *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi* p. 305 (यथा पद्यावल्याम्). Also cited anonymously in some Alaṃkāra works e.g. *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* iv, 11 a ; *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*, on iv, 42. Also in *SRBh* p. 300, no. 25. समग्रविषयग्रामे *ŚP*, *Sbhv*, *SRBh*.
7. तदेतदपरं *Sāhitya-d* ; यच्चैकनिष्ठं मनः *ŚP*.

मौनं चेदमिदं च शून्यमखिलं यद्विश्वमाभाति ते
तद्ब्रूयाः सखि योगिनी किमसि भोः किं वा वियोगिन्यसि
॥२३८॥

कस्यचित् ॥

तां प्रति राधावाक्यम्

सङ्गमविरहविकल्पे वरमिह विरहो न सङ्गमस्तस्य ।
एकः स एव सङ्गे त्रिभुवनमपि तन्मयं विरहे ॥२३९॥

कस्यचित् ॥

अथ कृष्णविरहः

सञ्जाते विरहे कयापि हृदये सन्दानिते चिन्तया
कालिन्दीतटवेतसीवनघनच्छायानिषण्णात्मनः ।

1. मौनं चेतसि चाग्रशून्यमखिलं PA ; शून्यमधुना *Sāhitya-d.*
2. किमसि वा किं वा *Sbhv*, PA.
4. श्रीराधा० DB, DC, VSPB ; अथ तां प्रति श्रीराधावाक्यम् AKG ; तां प्रति कस्यचिद्वाक्यम् PT.
5. Cited in *SKM* ii, 99, 4 (धर्मकीर्तेः)=*SRBh*, p. 291, no. 19 (anonymously)=*Vetāla-pañcaviṃśati* (ed. Uhle, iii, 22, p. 17, anonymously)=*Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, on x, 36 (anonymously) ०विरहवितर्के *SRBh*, *Vetāla-p.* ; सङ्गमस्तस्याः, all texts.
6. सङ्गे सैव तथैका *Sāhitya-d.*, *SRBh*, *Vetāla-p.*, *SKM.*
7. Unassigned IO ; समाहर्तुः TB.
8. अथ omitted PA ; श्रीकृष्ण० DB, DC, DF, IO, ASB, VSPB ; कुञ्जविरहः DD, DE; अथ कृष्णस्य विरहः PB, TB; अथ श्रीकृष्णस्य विरहः PT, AKG, ASC (without अथ).
9. Cited in *SKM,* i, 58, 1 (कस्यचित्). सन्धानिते चिन्तया DB, DC, AKG, VSPA, PT, Comm.
10. ०च्छायाविषण्णात्मनः DA, DB, DC, DD, DE, SSP, ASA, VSPB.

पायासुः कलकण्ठकूजितकला गोपस्य कंसद्विषो
जिह्वावर्जिततालुमूर्च्छितमरुद्विस्फारिता गीतयः ॥२४०॥

कस्यचित् ॥

अथ राधाप्रसादनम्

शिरश्छायां कृष्णः स्वयमकृत राधाचरणयो-
र्भुजावल्लीच्छायामियमपि तदीयप्रतिकृतौ ।
इति क्रीडाकोपे निभृतमुभयोरप्यनुनय-
प्रसादौ जीयास्तामपि गुरुसमक्षं स्थितवतोः ॥२४१॥

हरस्य ॥

1. पायाद्वः कलकण्ठ० DA.
2. ०तालमूर्छित DD; ०तालुवर्जित० DF; ०विस्मारिता गीतयः ASB.
3. Unassigned PB.
4. अथ omitted PA ; श्रीराधा० DB, DC, VSPB ; अथ श्रीकृष्णानुनयराधाप्रसादः PT, AKG (०प्रसादनम्), VSPA, (०प्रसादनम्).
5. Cited in *ŚP* 79 (कस्यापि)=*SRBh* p. 24, no. 135 (anonymously). व्यधामकृत *ŚP*.
6. भुजावल्लि० DA, DF, PA, PB, VSPB ; ०मियमपि तनौ तस्य च्छमुखी PA, PB, SSP, ASA.
7. क्रीडाकोपान्निभृत० DB, DC, TB, PT, VSPA.
9. हरिहरस्य AKG.

कृष्णं प्रति राधासखीवाक्यम्

सा सर्वथैव रक्ता रागं गुञ्जेव न तु मुखे वहति ।
वचनपटोस्तव रागः केवलमास्ये शुकस्येव ॥२४२॥
गोवर्धनाचार्यस्य ॥

सुभग भवता हृद्ये तस्या ज्वलत्स्मरपावकेऽ-
प्यभिनिविशता प्रेमाधिक्यं चिरात् प्रकटीकृतम् ।
तव तु हृदये शीतेऽप्येवं सदैव सुखाप्तये
मम सहचरी सा निःस्नेहा मनागपि न स्थिता ॥२४३॥
रुद्रस्य ॥

1. The sentence begins with अथ AKG, PB, VSPB; श्रीकृष्णं प्रति DB, DC, DE, TB, ASA, ASC, AKG, PT, VSPA, VSPB ; तं प्रति PB ; श्रीराधा० DD, DE, AKG, PT, VSPB ; राधावाक्यम् DC ; राधिकासखीवाक्यम् ASB.
2. Occurs in Govardhana's *Āryā-saptaśatī* (ed. Kāvyamālā, no. 649=ed. Dacca, no. 703)=*SRBh* p. 301, no. 8 (anonymously).
3. रचनपटोस्तव ASB ; DC drops all words from ०स्येव in शुकस्येव up to the end of ०प्यभि in ०प्यभिनिविशता in line 6 below.
4. श्री prefixed to the name, ASB ; गोवर्धनस्य PA, PB.
5. Occurs in Rudra's *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka* (ed. Pischel), ii, 108.
6. ०प्यभिनिवसता *Śṛṅgāra-t.*
7. सदैव सुखाश्रये PA.
8. सा dropped in PT.
9. श्रीरुद्रस्य AKG.

अथ दिनान्तरवार्ता

आगत्य प्रणिपातसान्त्वितसखीदत्तान्तरे सागसि
स्वैरं कुर्वति तल्पपार्श्वनिभृते धूर्तेऽङ्गसंवाहनम् ।
ज्ञात्वा स्पर्शवशात्तया किल सखीभ्रान्त्येव वक्षः शनैः
खिन्नासीत्यभिधाय मीलितदृशा सानन्दमारोपितः ॥२४४॥

कस्यचित् ॥

वस्तुतस्तु गुरुभीतया तया
व्यञ्जिते कपटमानकुट्मले ।
पेशलप्रियसखीदृशा हरि-
र्बोधितस्तटलतागृहं ययौ ॥२४५॥

1. The heading omitted in PA, PB, IO, ASB, VSPB ; अथ दिनान्तरकेलिः PT.
2. Cited in *ŚP* 3576 (कस्यापि)=*Sbhv* 2083 (कस्यापि)= *Sml* lviii, 5 (कस्यापि)=*SRBh* p. 325, no. 17. प्रणिपातशान्तितसखी० DA ; Comm notices another reading गत्वा तत्र विलापसान्त्वितसखीदत्तान्तरे.
4. कृत्वा for ज्ञात्वा PT ; ज्ञात्वा corrected into जङ्घा on the margin PB ; स्पर्शरसात्तया DD, DE ; स्पर्शवशात् प्रियं *ŚP*, *SRBh* ; सखीभ्रान्त्यैव DB, DC, DD, DE, SSP, IO, ASA, ASB ; भ्रान्त्या स्ववक्षः PA, *Sml*; भ्रान्त वक्षः (corrupt) PB ; भ्रान्त्या स्वमङ्ग *ŚP* ; भ्रान्त्या स्वमङ्क *Sbhv* ; घरैः for शनैः SSP, ASA.
5. सानन्दमारोपितं DA, DF, IO, ASC, AKG, PT, Comm.
7. PB omits this verse, but gives here the heading अथ कदाचित् ।
10. Under this verse श्रीरूपस्य PA ; कस्यचित् VSPB.

माधवो मधुरमाधवीलता-
मण्डपे पटुरटन्मधुव्रते ।
संजगौ श्रवणचारु गोपिका-
मानमीनवडिशेन वेणुना ॥ २४६ ॥

कयोश्चिदिमौ ॥

पुष्पच्छलेन कृष्णमन्वेषयन्तीं राधां प्रति कस्याश्चिदुक्तिः

पन्थाः क्षेममयोऽस्तु ते परिहर प्रत्यूहसम्भावना-
मेतन्मात्रमधारि सुन्दरि मया नेत्रप्रणालीपथे ।
नीरे नीलसरोजमुज्ज्वलगुणं तीरे तमालाङ्कुरः
कुञ्जे कोऽपि कलिन्दशैलदुहितुः पुंस्कोकिलः खेलति ॥२४७॥

सर्वविद्याविनोदानाम् ॥

1. Cited in *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi*, p. 232 (यथा रससुधाकरे) = *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* p. 47 (anonymously).

3. संजगौ चतुरचारु PA.

5. कस्यचित् PA, PB, VSPB; कस्यचिदमौ PT; कश्चिदिमौ ASB.

6-7. The sentence begins with अथ PB, TB, AKG ; पुष्पच्छलेन omitted PB ; श्रीकृष्ण° PT, AKG ; °मन्वेषन्तीं DB, DC, DD, DE, ASA ; श्रीराधां AKG ; कस्यचिदुक्तिः TB, PB, VSPB.

9. नेत्रप्रणालीपथि PA.

12. सर्वविद्याविनोदस्य PA, PB.

तत्र यमुनातीरे गतया राधया सह संकथा

का त्वं माधवदूतिका वदसि किं मानं जहीहि प्रिये
धूर्तः सोऽन्यमना मनागपि सखि त्वय्यादरं नोज्झति ।
इत्यन्योन्यकथारसैः प्रमुदितां राधां सखीवेशवान्
नीत्वा कुञ्जगृहं प्रकाशिततनुः स्मेरो हरिः पातु वः ॥२४८॥

वासवस्य ॥

वसन्तः सन्नद्धो विपिनमजनं त्वं च तरुणी
स्फुरत्कामावेशे वयसि वयमप्याहितपदाः ।
व्रज त्वं वा राधे क्षणमथ विलम्बस्व यदि वा
स्फुटं जातस्तावच्चतुरवचनानामवसरः ॥२४९॥

कस्यचित् ॥

तत्र राधावाक्यम्

स्वामी मुग्धतरो वनं घनमिदं बालाहमेकाकिनी
क्षौणीमावृणुते तमालमलिनच्छायातमःसन्ततिः ।

1. अथ तत्र AKG ; अत्र for तत्र DF ; यमुनातीरगतया DA, VSPB, TB, ASB, ASC, PT ; ०तीरे समागतया PA ; हरेः संकथा PT, AKG ; कथा for संकथा DA, SSP ; only अथ तया सह गोष्ठी PB.

6. वासकस्य DD ; वासरस्य TB, VSPB.

12. अथ तत्र AKG ; तत्र omitted ASC ; श्रीराधा० DB, DC, AKG, ASB ; the whole heading omitted in PB.

13. This verse is omitted in PB. Cited in Viśvanātha's *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, on iii, 266a (यथा मम)=*SRBh*, p. 24, no. 151 (anonymously). वनं घनमिदं PA, AKG.

तन्मे सुन्दर कृष्ण मुञ्च सहसा वर्त्मेति राधागिरः
श्रुत्वा तां परिरभ्य मन्मथकलासक्तो हरिः पातु वः ॥२५०॥
कस्यचित् ॥

अथ स्वाधीनभर्तृका

मकरीविरचनभङ्ग्या राधाकुचकलसमर्दनव्यसनी । 5
ऋजुमपि रेखां लुम्पन् वल्लववेशो हरिर्जयति ॥२५१॥
कस्यचित् ॥

1. वर्त्मेति गोप्या गिरः *SRBh*, *Sāhitya-d* ; तन्मां सुन्दर and सहसावर्त्म्येति VSPB.
2. मन्मथकलाशक्तो DB, DC, DE, DF, TB, VSPA.
3. Unassigned DF, IO.
4. अथ omitted ASC. PT reads after this a metrical definition of स्वाधीनभर्तृका, but all Mss omit it.
5. Cited in *ŚP* 77 (हरिहरस्य)=*SRBh* p. 23, no. 108 (हरिहरस्य). ०कलसपीडनव्यसनी *ŚP*.
6. मुञ्चन् for लुम्पन् IO ; बन्धुरवेशो DB, DC.
7. Unassigned DA, DF, TB, ASC.

क्रीडानन्तरं कृष्णस्य स्वप्नायितम्

एते लक्ष्मण जानकीविरहिणं मां खेदयन्त्यम्बुदा
मर्माणीव च घट्टयन्त्यलममी क्रूराः कदम्बानिलाः ।
इत्थं व्याहृतपूर्वजन्मविरहो यो राधया वीक्षितः
सेर्ष्यं शङ्कितया स वः सुखयतु स्वप्नायमानो हरिः ॥२५२॥5
शुभाङ्कस्य ॥

1. The sentence begins with अथ DD, DE, SSP, ASA ; श्रीकृष्णस्य DB, DC, AKG, PT; कृष्णस्य omitted SSP ; कृष्णस्वप्नायितम् PA ; the whole heading omitted in DA, DD, PB, AKG.
2. Occurs in Bilvamangala's *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta* (ed. Śrī-Vāṇī-Vilāsa Press) ii, 70. Cited in *SKM* i, 53, 3 (शुभाङ्गस्य)=Hemacandra's *Kāvyānuśāsana* p. 90 (anonymously). Also cited and translated by Aufrecht in *ZDMG*, xxxvi, p. 546. This verse is omitted here in PB and AKG. See footnote to no. 147 above. ते ते लक्ष्मण VSPB (first citation) ; जानकीविरहितं Hemacandra, *KK*.
3. मर्माणीव विघट्टयन्त्यल॰ Hemacandra ; मर्माणीव च मे तुदन्त्यलममी PA ; मर्माणीव विपीदयन्त्यलममी AKG ; मर्माणीव च खण्डयन्त्यलममी *SKM*.
4. व्याहृतपूर्वजन्मचरितो Hemacandra, *KK*.
5. सेर्षं PT ; सदा सुखयतु TB, PB ; नः for वः *KK*.
6. शुभाङ्गस्य DD, DE, DF, ASB, PB (at the first citation), VSPB ; शुभङ्करस्य DB, DC ; शुभाङ्करस्य ASC ; शुभाङ्कुरस्य IO ; कस्यचित् PT ; वसुदेवस्य AKG ; unassigned SSP ; unassigned in ASA at the first citation, but here assigned as in the text,

अथ वंशीचौर्यम्

नीचैर्न्यासादथ चरणयोर्नूपुरे मूकयन्ती
धृत्वा धृत्वा कनकवलयान्युत्क्षिपन्ती भुजान्ते ।
मुद्रामक्ष्णोश्चकितचकितं शश्वदालोकयन्ती
स्मित्वा स्मित्वा हरति मुरलीमङ्कतो माधवस्य ।।२५३।।

दैत्यारिपण्डितस्य ।।

तां प्रति राधावाक्यम्

अच्छिद्रमस्तु हृदयं परिपूर्णमस्तु
मौखर्यमस्तमितमस्तु गुरुत्वमस्तु ।
कृष्णप्रिये सखि दिशामि सदाशिषस्ते
यद्वासरे मुरलि मे करुणां करोषि ।।२५४।।

श्रीगोविन्दमिश्राणाम् ।।

1. अथ added only in DD, DE, TB, SSP, ASA, AKG, Comm ; the whole heading dropped in PT.
2. Cited in *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi*, p. 491 (यथा पद्यावल्याम्). नूपुरं PA, TB.
3. कनकवलयानुत्क्षिपन्ती DB, DC, PB, PT, VSPA.
6. Unassigned DF.
7. अथ तां मुरलीं प्रति AKG ; श्रीराधा० DB, DC, ASB, VSPA, VSPB, AKG ; राधासखीवाक्यम् DF.
9. मौखर्यमस्तु मितमस्तु DB, DC, DF, PA, IO, TB, AKG, PT, Comm ; मौखर्यमस्त० dropped in ASC.
10. सदाशिपन्ते DF ; सदा शिवं ते PA.
12, श्री omitted DB, DC, DF, VSPA, PB, SSP, ASA.

शुन्यत्वं हृदये सलाघवमिदं शुष्कत्वमङ्गेषु मे
मौखर्यं व्रजनाथनामकथने दत्तं भवत्या निजम् ।
तत् किं नो मुरलि प्रयच्छसि पुनर्गोविन्दवक्त्रासवं
यं पीत्वा भुवनं वशे विदधती निर्लज्जमुद्रायसि ॥२५५॥

तेषामेव ॥

अथ सायं हरेर्व्रजागमनम्

मन्द्रक्वाणितवेणुरह्नि शिथिले व्यावर्तयन् गोकुलं
बर्हापीडकमुत्तमाङ्गरचितं गोधूलिधूम्रं दधत् ।
म्लायन्त्या वनमालया परिगतः श्रान्तोऽपि रम्याकृति-
र्गोपस्त्रीनयनोत्सवो वितरतु श्रेयांसि वः केशवः ॥२५६॥

कस्यचित् ॥

तत्र कस्याश्चिदुक्तिः

दृष्ट्या केशव गोपरागहृतया किञ्चिन्न दृष्टं मया
तेनाद्य स्खलितास्मि नाथ पतितां किं नाम नालम्बसे ।

1. शुन्यं त्वं PT ; हृदये च लाघवपदं शुद्धत्वमङ्गेषु PA.

5. Unassigned ASB. 6. अथ omitted PA, PB.

7. Cited in *KVS* 22 (unassigned)=*SKM*, i, 57, 4 (कस्यचित्). मन्दक्वाणित० DA, PA, ASC, *KVS* ; धक्क्वाणित० *SKM*.

8. अत्र कस्याश्चिद्वाक्यम् DF ; the whole heading omitted PB.

12. Cited anonymously in *Dhvanyāloka*, ed. Kāvyamālā, p. 98=*Vakrokti-jīvita*, ed. S.K. De, iii, p. 206=*Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, on iv, 14=*Sml* ed. GOS, ii, 93=*SRBh* p. 25, no. 159. This verse is omitted by PB.

13. तेनैव स्खलितास्मि PA, *Sml*.

एकस्त्वं विषमेषु खिन्नमनसां सर्वाबलानां गति-
गोंप्यैवं गदितः सलेशमवताद् गोष्ठे हरिर्वश्चिरम् ॥२५७॥
कस्यचित् ॥

नाभिदेशविनिवेशितवेणु-
र्धेनुपुच्छनिहितैककराब्जः ।
अन्यपाणिपरिमण्डितदण्डः
पुण्डरीकनयनो व्रजमाप ॥२५८॥
कस्यचित् ॥

तत्रैव राधायाः सौभाग्यम्

भ्रूवल्लीबलनैः कयापि नयनोन्मेषैः कयापि स्मित-
ज्योत्स्नाविच्छुरितैः कयापि निभृतं सम्भावितस्याध्वनि ।
गर्वोद्भेदकृतावहेलललितश्रीभाजि राधानने
सातङ्कानुनयं जयन्ति पतिताः कंसद्विषो दृष्टयः ॥२५९॥
उमापतिधरस्य ॥

1. गदितः शुभाय भवताद् PA ; गदितः सपेशमवताद् AKG, PT, Comm.
4. Before this verse (no. 258), PB reads the heading तत्रैव राधासौभाग्यम् ।
9. श्रीराधायाः DB, DC, IO ; श्रीराधिकायाः AKG, PT.
10. Cited in *SKM*, i, 55, 3 (उमापतिधरस्य). भ्रूवल्लीचलनैः PB, *SKM* ; भ्रूवल्लीकलनैः TB ; भ्रूवल्लीनमनैः PA.
11. ज्योत्स्नाविस्फुरितैः DD, DE, PA.
12. कृतावहेलविनयश्री० *SKM* ; कृतावहेलननतिश्री० IO.

तिर्यक्कन्धरमंसदेशमिलितश्रोत्रावतंसं स्फुरद्-
बर्होत्तम्भितकेशपाशमनृजुभ्रू वल्लरीविभ्रमम् ।
गुञ्जद्वेणुनिवेशिताधरपुटं साकूतराधानन-
न्यस्तामीलितदृष्टि गोपवपुषो विष्णोर्मुखं पातु वः ॥२६०॥
लक्ष्मणसेनदेवस्य ॥

अंसासक्तकपोलवंशवदनव्यासक्तबिम्बाधर-
द्वन्द्वोदीरितमन्दमन्दपवनप्रारब्धमुग्धध्वनिः ।
ईषद्वक्रिमलोलहारनिकरः प्रत्येकरोकानन-
न्यञ्चच्चञ्चदुञ्चदङ्गुलिचयस्त्वां पातु राधाधवः ॥२६१॥
नाथोकस्य ॥

1. Before this verse PA reads as a heading ; वंशीवादनम् ॥ This verse is cited in *SKM* i, 55, 2 (श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणसेनस्य). ०देशवलितश्रोत्रा० DF; IO ; ०श्रोत्रावतंस-स्फुर० PB.
2. बर्होत्तंसितकेश० PA, *SKM*.
3. गुञ्जद्वेणुनिनादिताधर० DE ; ०राधानने DB, DC.
4. ०दृष्टि गोकुलपतेर्वक्त्राम्बुजं पातु वः PT, AKG, Comm ; ASC has both the readings, one after the other.
5. लक्ष्मणदेवसेनस्य DB, DC ; लक्ष्मणदेवस्य DD, DE, SSP, ASA ; लक्ष्मणसेनस्य PA, IO, ASB, Comm ; लक्ष्मणसेन-नृपस्य PB.
6. Cited in *SKM*, i, 57, 5 (केशरकोलीयनाथोकस्य).
7. DC drops all words from ०रितमन्दमन्द० to the end of रोकानन in the next line.
8. ०हारनिकरप्रत्येक० ASB, PT, VSPB.
9. राधाधरः DF, TB, SSP, ASC, VSPA, VSPB.
10. नाथकस्य DF, PA ; नाथधवस्य ASB.

अङ्गुष्ठाग्रिमयन्त्रिताङ्गुलिरसौ पादार्धनीरुद्धभू-
रार्द्रीकृत्य पयोधराञ्चलमलं सद्यः पयोबिन्दुभिः ।
न्यग्जानुद्वयमध्ययन्त्रितघटीवक्त्रान्तरालस्खल-
द्धाराध्वानमनोहरं सखि पयो गां दोग्धि दामोदरः ॥२६२॥
शरणस्य ॥

अथ कृष्णं प्रति चन्द्रावलीवाक्यम्

शठान्यस्याः काञ्चीमणिरणितमाकर्ण्य सहसा
यदाश्लिष्यन्नेव प्रशिथिलभुजग्रन्थिरभवः ।

1. Cited in Jahlaṇa (Bhandarkar, *op. cit.* p. xxviii) जाह्नकस्य. Before this verse DF, PA, TB, VSPB, AKG, PT, Comm (the last without अथ) read the heading ; अथ गोदोहनम् ।
2. गर्जीकृत्य पयोधराञ्चल० PA ; द्वित्रैः for सद्यः TB, AKG, ASC, Comm ; TB gives the reading of our text but corrects it to ०रापीनाञ्चलमार्द्रयन्निह पुरो द्वित्रैः पयोबिन्दुभिः, which latter is also the reading of ASC and Comm.
3. ०मध्यसङ्गतघटी० PA ; ०वक्त्रान्तदुग्धस्खल० ASC ; वक्त्रान्तरे प्रस्खल० Comm.
6. अथ omitted PA, PB ; श्रीकृष्णं DB, DC, IO, VSPB, AKG, PT ; ०सखीवचनम् AKG.
7. Occurs in *Amaru-śataka*, ed. Simon, no. 73, p. 104 = ed. Kāvyamālā, no. 109. Cited in *KVS* 362 (हिङ्गोकस्य) = *Daśarūpaka*, on ii, 7a (anonymously) = *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, on iii, 37 (anonymously) = *Sabhyālaṃkāra* iv, 8 (अमरस्य). शठोऽन्यस्याः PT ; काञ्चीकलरणित०.PA.
8. समाश्लिष्यन्नेव. *KVS*.

तदेतत् काचक्षे घृतमधुमय त्वद्बहुवचो-
विषेणाघूर्णन्ती किमपि न सखी मे गणयति ॥२६३॥
कस्यचित् ॥

अथ गोवर्धनोद्धरणम्

सत्रासार्तिं यशोदया प्रियगुणप्रीतेक्षणं राधया
लग्नैर्वल्लवसूनुभिः सरभसं सम्भावितात्मोर्जितैः ।
भीतानन्दितविस्मितेन विषमं नन्देन चालोकितः
पायाद्वः करपद्मसुस्थितमहाशैलः सलीलो हरिः ॥२६४॥
सोह्लोकस्य ॥

1. तदेतद् व्याचष्टे DD, DE, SSP, ASA, ASB, Comm ; ०मधुमयं PB ; घृतमधुमयत्वद्बहु० (as compounded) PT, AKG, Comm and apparently in DE, TB, ASA ; त्वन्मुदुवचो० *KVS*.
3. Unassigned DF, IO ; समाहर्तुः TB.
4. अथ omitted PA, PB ; श्रीगोवर्धनो० AKG ; गोवर्धनधरणं DF ; गोवर्धनोद्धारणं SSP ; अथ गोवर्धनं ASB.
5. Cited in *KVS* 42 (सोह्लोकस्य)=*SKM*, i, 60, 1 (सोह्लोकस्य).
6. नम्रैर्वल्लव० DF, AKG,PT, Comm, *SKM*.
8. करमूर्धस्थित० *KVS* ; छलीलो DB, DC.
9. साह्लोकस्य DD, SSP, TB, ASA ; साह्लोकस्य DB, DC, DE, PB, ASB ; सौह्लोकस्य IO ; शौह्लोदकस्य AKG, PT, Comm ; कस्यचित् PA.

एकेनैव चिराय कृष्ण भवता गोवर्धनोऽयं धृतः
श्रान्तोऽसि क्षणमास्स्व साम्प्रतममी सर्वे वयं दध्महे ।
इत्युल्लासितदोष्णि गोपनिवहे किञ्चिद्भुजाकुञ्चन-
न्यञ्चच्छैलभरार्दिते विरुवति स्मेरो हरिः पातु वः ॥२६५॥

शरणस्य ॥

खिन्नोऽसि मुञ्च शैलं बिभृमो वयमिति वदत्सु शिथिलभुजः ।
भरभुग्नविततबाहुषु गोपेषु हसन् हरिर्जयति ॥२६६॥

सुबन्धोः ॥

दूरं दृष्टिपथात्तिरोभव हरेर्गोवर्धनं बिभ्रत-
स्त्वय्यासक्तदृशः कृशोदरि करस्रस्तोऽस्य मा भूदयम् ।
गोपीनामिति जल्पितं कलयतो राधानिरोधाश्रयं
श्वासाः शैलभरश्रमभ्रमकराः कंसद्विषः पान्तु वः ॥२६७॥

शुभाङ्कस्य ॥

1. Cited in *SKM*, i, 60, 2 (कस्यचित्).
2. क्षणमास्व DA, DD, DE, DF, SSP, TB, ASB ; क्षणमाशु IO.
4. For विरुवति, विरमति *SKM*, द्रवति PA.
5. Unassigned SSP.
6. Occurs in Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā*, ed. Gray, śl. 2 = *ŚP* 78 (सुबन्धोः) = *Sml*, ed. GOS, i, 41 (हरिहरस्य). मुञ्च भारं बिभृमो *Sml*.
8. सुशङ्कोः IO ; unassigned DF ; सञ्जयकविशेखरस्य DD, DE, SSP, ASA, ASB.
9. Cited in *SKM* i, 60, 4 (कस्यचित्). दृष्टिपथात्तिरोहित VSPB.
10. करः स्रस्तोऽस्य DF, PA, IO, *SKM* ; मा भूदिति *SKM*.
11. गोपीनां निजजल्पितं PB.
12. ०भ्रमकराः कृष्णस्य पुष्णन्तु वः *SKM*.
13. शुभाङ्करस्य DC, IO ; शुभाङ्गस्य DD, DE, DF, ASB, PT.

अथ नौक्रीडा

कुरु पारं यमुनाया मुहुरिति गोपीभिरुत्कराहूतः ।
तरित्तटकपटशयालुर्द्विगुणालस्यो हरिर्जयति ।।२६८।।
सञ्जयकविशेखरस्य ।।

उत्तिष्ठारात्तरौ मे तरुणि मम तरोः शक्तिरारोहणे का
साक्षादाख्यामि मुग्धे तरणिमिह रवेराख्यया का रतिर्मे ।
वार्तेयं नौप्रसङ्गे कथमपि भविता नावयोः सङ्गमार्था
वार्तापीति स्मितास्यं जितगिरमजितं राधयाराधयामि ।।२६९।।

मुक्ता तरङ्गनिवहेन पतङ्गपुत्री
नव्या च नौरिति वचस्तव तथ्यमेव ।
शङ्कानिदानमिदमेव ममातिमात्रं
त्वं चञ्चलो यदिह माधव नाविकोऽसि ।।२७०।।
समाहर्तुरिमौ ।।

1. अथ omitted DA, PA, PB, IO, ASC, VSPA.
3. सरित्तटकपटशयालु० PB.
4. सञ्जयस्य PA, PB.
5. Cited in *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi*, p. 265 (यथा पद्यावल्याम्). उत्तिष्ठाग्रे तरौ DA, PB ; उत्तिष्ठान्तस्तरौ PA.
6. तरणिमहिमगुव्याख्यया PA ; रवेः शंसनात् का PB.
8. स्मितास्यां जित० PA ; राधया राधयामि (as separate words) AKG, PT, Comm and apparently DA, DB, DF.
9. Cited in *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi*, p. 489 (anonymously).
10. तव सत्यमेव VSPB.
13. समाहर्तुरेतौ DB, DC, PA, SSP, ASA ; श्रीमद्रूपगोस्वामिनां PB.

जीर्णा तरिः सरिदतीवगभीरनीरा
बाला वयं सकलमित्थमनर्थहेतुः ।
निस्तारबीजमिदमेव कृशोदरीणां
यन्माधव त्वमसि सम्प्रति कर्णधारः ॥२७१॥

जगदानन्दरायस्य ॥

अम्भसि तरणिसुतायाः स्तम्भिततरणिः स देवकीसूनुः ।
आतरविरहितगोप्याः कातरमुखमीक्षते स्मेरः ॥२७२॥

सूर्यदासस्य ॥

वाचा तवैव यदुनन्दन गव्यभारो
हारोऽपि वारिणि मया सहसा विकीर्णः ।
दूरीकृतं च कुचयोरनयोर्दुकूलं
कूलं कलिन्ददुहितुर्न तथाप्यदूरम् ॥२७३॥

कस्यचित् ॥

पयःपूरैः पूर्णा सपदि गतघूर्णा च पवनै-
र्गभीरे कालिन्दीपयसि तरिरेषा प्रविशति ।

3. विश्वासबीजमिदमेव DA, DF, PA, PB, SSP, ASA, ASB, ASC.

7. आतुरविरहितगोपीकातर॰ PA.

8. श्री prefixed to the name PA.

9. Occurs in *Gopāla-caritra* or *Premāmṛta* (Naukā-khaṇḍa, 18).

13. मनोहरस्य PB ; unassigned VSPB.

14. Occurs in *Gopāla-caritra* or *Premāmṛta* (Naukā-khaṇḍa, 19). गतघूर्णैश्च PA.

15. ॰पयसि गतिरेषा PA.

अहो मे दुर्दैवं परमकुतुकाक्रान्तहृदयो
हरिर्वारं वारं तदपि करतालिं रचयति ॥२७४॥

मनोहरस्य ॥

पानीयसेचनविधौ मम नैव पाणी
विश्राम्यतस्तदपि ते परिहासवाणी ।
जीवामि चेत् पुनरहं न तदा कदापि
कृष्ण त्वदीयतरणौ चरणौ ददामि ॥२७५॥

तस्यैव ॥

इदमुद्दिश्य वयस्याः स्वसमीहितदैवतं नमत ।
यमुनैव जानुदघ्नी भवतु न वा नाविकोऽस्त्वपरः ॥२७६॥

मुकुन्दभट्टाचार्यस्य ॥

1. दुर्दैवं तदपि कुतुका० PA.
3 मनोरकस्य DA ; unassigned PB.
4. Occurs in *Gopāla-caritra* or *Premāmṛta* (Naukā-khaṇḍa, 12).
6. जीवानि चेत् DA, DD, DE, DF, SSP, ASA, VSPA, VSPB ; न कदा तदापि PA.
7. ०तरणौ पदमर्पयामि PB.
9. स्वमीहितदैवतं PT ; स्वसमीहितं दैवतं DA, SSP, ASC ; स्वसमीहितदैवं DD, DE, IO.
10. नवनाविको० DD ; नवो नाविको० SSP ASA ; नाविकस्त्वपरः DA, DB, DC, DF, IO, ASC ; नवनाविकस्त्वत्परः DE.
11. श्री prefixed to the name DB, DC, ASC, VSPA.

तरिरुत्तरला सरिद्गभीरा
तरलो नन्दसुतश्च कर्णधारः ।
अबलाहमुपैति भानुरस्तं
सखि दूरे नगरीह किं करोमि ॥२७७॥

कस्यचित् ॥

नापेक्षते स्तुतिकथां न शृणोति काकुं
शश्वत्कृतं न मनुते प्रणिपातजातम् ।
हा किं विधेयमधुना सखि नन्दसूनु-
र्मध्येतरङ्गिणि तरिं तरलो धुनोति ॥२७८॥

एषोत्तुङ्गतरङ्गलङ्घिततटोत्सङ्गा पतङ्गात्मजा
पूर्णेयं तरिरम्बुभिर्न हि हरेः शङ्का कलङ्कादपि ।
काठिन्यं भज नाद्य सुन्दरि वयं राधे प्रसादेन ते
जीवामः स्फुटमातरीकुरु गिरिद्रोणीविनोदोत्सवम् ॥२७९॥

1. DB and DC place this verse after no. 278 ; PB places it before no. 276.
2. कुतुकी गोपशिशुश्च कर्णधारः PB, VSPB.
4. नगरीति किं PB.
5. Unassigned ASC.
9. After this verse, DB and DC read समाहर्तुः.
10. Before this verse, ASC reads :

आतरलाघवहेतोर्मुरहर तरिं तवावलम्बे ।
अपरां परामिह कुरुषे नाविकपुरुषे न विश्वासः ॥ कस्यचित् ॥

काकुं करोषि गृहकोणकरीषपुञ्ज-
गूढाङ्ग किं ननु वृथा कितव प्रयाहि ।
कुत्राद्य जीर्णतरणिभ्रमणातिभीत-
गोपाङ्गनागणविडम्बनचातुरी ते ॥२८०॥

त्रयः समाहर्तुः ॥

अथ राधया सह हरेर्वाकोवाक्यम्

अङ्गुल्या कः कवाटं प्रहरति कुटिले माधवः किं वसन्तो
नो चक्री किं कुलालो न हि धरणिधरः किं द्विजिह्वः फणीन्द्रः ।
नाहं घोराहिमर्दी किमसि खगपतिर्नो हरिः किं कपीशो
राधावाणीभिरित्थं प्रहसितवदनः पातु वश्चक्रपाणिः ॥२८१॥

कस्यचित् ॥

1. Cited in *Ujjva'a-nīla-maṇi*, p. 101 (यथा पद्यावल्याम्). DF reads before this verse the heading दिनान्तरोक्तिः ॥
3. ०भ्रमणातिभीति- DD, DE, IO, *Ujjvala-nīla*°.
5. एवं for त्रयः DB, DC ; एते श्रीरूपायाम् PA ; श्रीमद्रूप-गोस्वामिनां PB ; श्रीमद्रूपगोस्वामिनां ॥ त्रयं समाहर्तुः VSPB.
6. अथ omitted PA, PB ; सह omitted DF ; हरेर्वक्रोक्तिः DB, DC ; हरेर्वाक्यम् IO, ASB ; हरेः काकुवाक्यम् PA.
7. Cited in *Sbhv* 130 (कस्यापि) = *SRBh*, p. 27, no. 191 (anonymously). कः कवाटे *Sbhv* ; कपाटं PA, PB, TB, ASB, ASC, VSPB ; कुटिलो *Sbhv*.
8. किं फणीन्द्रो द्विजिह्वः *Sbhv*.
9. घोराहिमाथी *Sbhv* ; किमपि for किमसि PA ; किं कपीन्द्रो *Sbhv*, *SRBh* ; Comm notices the reading मृगेन्द्रो.
10. इत्थं लक्ष्म्या कृतोऽसौ प्रतिहतवचनः पातु लक्ष्मीधरो वः *Sbhv* ; इत्येवं सत्यभामाप्रतिवचनजितः पातु *SRBh* ; हीत्थं राधाविवादे प्रहसित० PA.

कस्त्वं भो निशि केशवः शिरसिजैः किं नाम गर्वायसे
भद्रे शौरिरहं गुणैः पितृगतैः पुत्रस्य किं स्यादिह ।
चक्री चन्द्रमुखि प्रयच्छसि न मे कुण्डीं घटीं दोहनी-
मित्थं गोपवधूजितोत्तरतया ह्रीणो हरिः पातु वः ॥२८२॥

चक्रपाणेः ॥

वासः सम्प्रति केशव क भवतो मुग्धेक्षणे नन्विदं
वासं ब्रूहि शठ प्रकामसुभगे त्वद्गात्रसंसर्गतः ।
यामिन्यामुषितः क धूर्त वितनुर्मुष्णाति किं यामिनी
शौरिर्गोपवधूं छलैः परिहसन्नेवंविधैः पातु वः ॥२८३॥

कस्यचित् ॥

1. Cited in *SKM*, i, 56, 3 (कस्यचित्)=Śaraṇadeva's *Durghaṭa-vṛtti* (iii, 1, 11, anonymously, first and third *pādas* only). किं नाम गर्भायते PA.
3. चक्री चण्डमुखो PA ; चक्रो चन्द्रमुखीं प्रयच्छसि स मे कूपीं *Durghaṭa-v.* (apparently corrupt). प्रयच्छसि नु मे AKG, PT, Comm.
4. दुःस्थो हरिः *SKM.*
6. Cited in *SKM*, i, 56, 4 (कस्यचित्) ; also in *Bhakti-rasāmṛta*°, p. 255 (यथा पद्यावल्याम्). वासः केशव सम्प्रति क DB, DC, TB, IO, ASB, ASC, AKG, PT, VSPA, VSPB.
7. प्रकामसुभग DA, DF, PA, PB, IO, VSPB, ; प्रकामशुभगे DB, DC ; त्वद्गात्रसंश्लेषतः PA, *SKM.*
9. त्येवं गोपवधूं *Bhakti-rasāmṛta* ; °वधूच्छलैः DB, ASB, ASC, PA ; परिहसन् कृष्णाश्चिरं *Bhakti-rasāmṛta*°.
10. Unassigned ASA.

राधे त्वं कुपिता त्वमेव कुपिता रुष्टासि भूमेर्यतो
माता त्वं जगतां त्वमेव जगतां माता न विज्ञोऽपरः ।
देवि त्वं परिहासकेलिकलहेऽनन्ता त्वमेवेत्यसौ
स्मेरो वल्लवसुन्दरीमवनमच्छौरिः श्रियं वः क्रियात् ॥२८४॥

हरिहरस्य ॥

अथ रासः

वृन्दारण्ये प्रमदसदने मल्लिकापुष्पमोदे
श्रीशुभ्रांशोः किरणरुचिरे कोकिलाद्यैर्मनोज्ञे ।
रात्रौ चित्रे पशुपवनिताचित्तदेहापहारी
कंसारातेर्मधुरमुरलीवाद्यराजो रराज ॥२८५॥

कस्यचित् ॥

अधरामृतमाधुरीधुरीणो हरिलीलामुरलीनिनाद एषः ।
प्रततान मनःप्रमोदमुच्चैर्हरिणीनां हरिणीदृशां मुनीनाम् ॥२८६॥

श्रीमाधवेन्द्रपुरीपादानाम् ॥

1. Cited in *SKM* i, 56, 1 (वाक्पतेः)=*KVS* 20 (वाक्पतिराजस्य). देवि त्वं कुपिता त्वमेव कुपिता कोऽन्यः पृथिव्या गुरुः *SKM*, *KVS*.
3. त्वमेवेत्यथ *KVS*, *SKM*.
4. ज्ञातानन्तपदो नमञ्जलधिजां शौरिश्चिरं पातु वः *SKM*, *KVS*.
6. अथ रासलीला PT, Comm ; रासः only DF.
7. This verse is omitted in PB. मल्लिकापुष्पशोभे AKG.
9. °चित्तदेहापसारी ASC ; °चित्तदेहापरीता ASA.
12. DF drops all words from °निनाद to the end of लीलामुखरितमुरली of no. 287.
14. श्री omitted DB, DC, PT, ASC ; माधवपुरीपादानां DB, DC ; माधवपुरीणां ASC ; °पुरीश्रीपादानां DA, DD, DE, PA, PB, TB, IO, VSPB, AKG, ASB ; श्रीमाधवपुरीपादानां VSPA.

लीलामुखरितमुरलीतरलीकृतगोपभाविनीनिवहः ।
तदधरमधुनि सतृष्णः कृष्णः पायादपायतो भवतः ॥२८७॥
माधवचक्रवर्तिनः ॥

कारय नाम्व विलम्बं मुञ्च करं मे हरिं यामि ।
न सहे स्थातुं यदसौ गर्जति मुरली प्रगल्भदूतीव ॥२८८॥
समाहर्तुः ॥

चूडाचुम्बितचारुचन्द्रकचयं चामीकराभाम्बरं
कर्णोत्तंसितकर्णिकारकुसुमं कन्दर्पकल्लोलिनम् ।
वंशीवादनवावदूकवदनं वक्रीभवद्वीक्षणं
भाग्यं भङ्गुरमध्यमाः परिणतं कुञ्जान्तरे भेजिरे ॥२८९॥
जीवदासवाहिनीपतेः ॥

श्रीकृष्णवाक्यम्

दुष्टः कोऽपि करोति वः परिभवं शङ्के मुहुर्गोकुले
धावन्त्यः स्खलदम्बरं निशि वने यूयं यदभ्यागताः ।

1. गोपभामिनी॰ DD, PA, PB ; गोपभाविनीहृदयम् PT.
3. श्री prefixed to the name TB ; कस्यचित् PA, AKG.
4. This verse is omitted by PB. कारय नाथ विलम्बं PA, TB, PT ; कारय सखि न विलम्बं VSPB.
6. श्रीरूपस्य PA. 8. कन्दर्पकल्लोलितम् DA, DC, ASC, PA.
10. परिगतं कुञ्जान्तरं DD, DE.
11. श्री prefixed to the name PT ; कस्यचित् DB, DC, DD, DE, TB, PA, PB, VSPA, VSPB ; unassigned DF, SSP, ASA, ASB.
12. PB omits this heading, as well as verses no. 290-292 ; अथ श्रीकृष्णा॰ DB, DC, VSPA ; तत्र श्रीकृष्णा॰ Comm ; तत्रैव श्रीकृष्णा॰ PA ; श्री omitted DD, DE, SSP, IO, ASA, Comm.
13. यूयं यदयागताः DB, DC, VSPA ; यूयं मदभ्यागताः ASB.

आः का भीतिरमन्ददानववधूसिन्दूरमुद्राहरे
दोर्दण्डे मम भाति दीव्यत पतिक्रोडे कुरङ्गीदृशः ॥२९०॥

धूतोत्तापे वहति गहने धर्मपूरे व्रजान्तः
का वस्तृष्णा बलति हृदये दुर्मदेयं सतीनाम् ।
सीमन्तिन्यः स्पृहयत गृहान् मा विरुद्धं कुरुध्वं
नायं दृष्टौ मम विघटते हन्त पुण्यस्य पन्थाः ॥२९१॥

अथ व्रजदेवीनामुत्तरम्

कथं वीथीमस्मानुपदिशसि धर्मप्रणयिणीं
प्रसीद स्वां शिष्यामतिखलमुखीं शाधि मुरलीम् ।
हरन्ती मर्यादां शिव शिव परे पुंसि हृदयं
नयन्ती धृष्टेयं यदुवर यथा नाह्वयति नः ॥२९२॥

त्रयः समाहर्तुः ॥

गोपीजनालिङ्गितमध्यभागं
वेणुं धमन्तं भृशलोलनेत्रम् ।

4. क वस्तृष्णा चलति PA. 5. या विरुद्धं PT.

6. नायं दृष्टो DB, DC ; नायं दुष्टो PA.

7. अथ व्रजवधूनामुत्तरम् PA ; अथ देवीनामुत्तरम् DF.

9. स्वां शिक्षामति॰ PA. 10. हरन्तीं PT.

11. नयन्तीं दृष्टोऽयं PT ; नयन्ती दुष्टेयं PA, IO.

12. श्रीरूपायामेते PA.

14. वेणुं ध्वनन्तं VSPB, PT ; वेणुं क्वणन्तं DB, DC ; वेणुं भ्रमन्तं PA.

कलेवरे प्रस्फुटरोमवृन्दं
नमामि कृष्णं जगदेककन्दम् ॥२६३॥

श्रीपुरुषोत्तमदेवस्य ॥

कालिन्द्याः पुलिनेषु केलिकुपितामुत्सृज्य रासे रसं
गच्छन्तीमनुगच्छतोऽश्रुकलुषां कंसद्विषो राधिकाम् ।
तत्पादप्रतिमानिवेशितपदस्योद्भूतरोमोद्गते-
रक्षुण्णोऽनुनयः प्रसन्नदयितादृष्टस्य पुष्णातु वः ॥२६४॥

भट्टनारायणस्य ॥

कृष्णान्तर्धाने तासां प्रश्नः

तुलसि विलससि त्वं मल्लि जातासि फुल्ला
स्थलकमलिनि भृङ्गैः सङ्गताङ्गी विभासि ।
कथयत वत सख्यः क्षिप्रमस्मासु कस्मिन्
वसति कपटकन्दः कन्दरे नन्दसूनुः ॥२६५॥

समाहर्तुः ॥

2. जगदेकवन्द्यम् ASB, Comm ; जगदेकबन्धुम् DB, DC, DD, DE, IO, TB, PT, VSPA.
3. श्री omitted DD, DE, PA, IO, ASA, ASB, PT, AKG ; पुरुषोत्तमस्य SSP ; unassigned in Comm.
4. Occurs in Bhaṭṭa-Nārāyaṇa's *Veṇī-saṃhāra*, i, 2.
7. प्रसन्नदयितारुष्टस्य (corrected reading on the margin) PA.
8. नारायणभट्टस्य PA.
9. The sentence begins with अथ DF ; श्रीकृष्णा° DB, DC, AKG, PT, Comm ; the heading omitted PB.
10. Cited in *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi*, p. 240 (anonymously). This verse is omitted in PB.
11. DC drops all words from सङ्गताङ्गी to the end of कपटकन्दः in line 13.
12. कलयत वत PT.
14. श्रीरूपस्य PA.

दृष्टः क्वापि स माधवो व्रजवधूमादाय काश्चिद्गतः
सर्वा एव हि वञ्चिताः सखि वयं सोऽन्वेषणीयो यदि ।
द्वे द्वे गच्छतमित्युदीर्य सहसा राधां गृहीत्वा करे
गोपीवेशधरो निकुञ्जकुहरं प्राप्तो हरिः पातु वः ॥२६६॥

कस्यचित् ॥

राधासखीवाक्यम्

अदोषाद्दोषाद्वा त्यजति विपिने तां यदि भवा-
नभद्रं भद्रं वा त्रिभुवनपते त्वां वदतु कः ।
इदं तु क्रूरं मे स्मरति हृदयं यत्किल तया
त्वदर्थं कान्तारे कुलतिलक नात्मापि गणितः ॥२६७॥

रामचन्द्रदासस्य ॥

लक्ष्मीं मध्यगतेन रासवलये विस्तारयन्नात्मना
कस्तूरीसुरभिर्विलासमुरलीविन्यस्तवक्त्रेन्दुना ।

1. Cited in *Sbhv* 100 (कस्यापि)=*SRBh*, p. 26, no. 187 (anonymously). स केशवो व्रज॰ PA, *Sbhv*, *SRBh* ; व्रजवधूमाधाय DD, DE, SSP, ASA, ASB.
2. सर्वत्रैव हि वञ्चिताः SSP ; खलु for सखि *Sbhv*, *SRBh*.
4. निकुञ्जभवनं *Sbhv*, *SRBh* ; निकुञ्जभुवने PA.
5. Unassigned ASB.
6. The sentence begins with अथ DF ; श्रीराधा॰ DB, DC, ASB, VSPA.
7. Cited in *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi*, p. 162 (यथा पद्यावल्याम्).
8. ॰नमन्दं मन्दं वा for नभद्रं भद्रं वा PA ; व्रजकुलपते AKG, PT.
9. मे स्फुरति हृदयं PT.
11. श्री prefixed to the name VSPB ; श्रीरामदासस्य PB ; श्रीरामचन्द्रसेनस्य ASC.
12. This verse is omitted in PB. विस्तारयन्नासता PA.
13. कस्तूरीसुरभि PA.

क्रीडाताण्डवमण्डलेन परितो दृष्टेन तुष्यद्दृशा
त्वां हल्लीशकशङ्कुसङ्कुलपदा पायाद्विहारी हरिः ॥२९८॥
कस्यचित् ॥

तत्र खेचराणामुक्तिः

मुक्तमुनीनां मृग्यं किमपि फलं देवकी फलति ।
तत् पालयति यशोदा निकाममुपभुञ्जते गोप्यः ॥२९९॥
दाक्षिणात्यस्य ॥

तप्तं तपोभिरन्यैः फलितं तद्गोपबालानाम् ।
आसां यत् कुचकुम्भे नीलनिचोलयति ब्रह्म ॥३००॥
श्रीरघुपत्युपाध्यायस्य ॥

1. घृष्टेन AKG ; तुष्यद्दृशां DD, DE, ASA, ASB.
3. Unassigned ASC. 4. अथ तत्र AKG, PT, Comm.
6. प्रकाममुपभुञ्जते DD, DE, PB, SSP, ASA, VSPB ; प्रकाममपि भुञ्जते PA.
7. कस्यचित् PA ; unassigned PB, SSP, ASA.
8. Cited in a slightly different form in *SRBh* p. 23, no. 114 (anonymously). तप्तं कैर्न तपोभिः *SRBh*.
9. लोचनयुगले यासामञ्जनमासीन्निरञ्जनं ब्रह्म *SRBh* ; निचोलयते PA ; ०निचोलयति यद्ब्रह्म VSPB.
10. श्री omitted DB, DC, DD, DE, PT, AKG, VSPA ; रघूपाध्यायस्य SSP, ASA.

अथ जलक्रीडा

जलकेलितरलकरतलमुक्तपुनःपिहितराधिकावदनः ।
जगदवतु कोकयूनोर्विघटनसङ्घटनकौतुकी कृष्णः ॥३०१॥
कस्यचित् ॥

राधासखीं प्रति चन्द्रावलीसख्याः सासूयवाक्यम्[5]

मा गर्वमुद्वह कपोलतले चकास्ति
कृष्णस्वहस्तलिखिता नवमञ्जरीति ।

1. जलकेलिः DD, DE, SSP, ASA, ASB ; the heading omitted DA, DF, IO, PA, PB, VSPA, VSPB.
2. Cited in *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi* p. 490 (यथा पद्यावल्याम्). This verse is entirely omitted in DF, PA, PB, VSPA ; but DA, VSPB, ASC, IO, TB, AKG, PT read it (with its heading) after no. 298.
3. करतलमुक्तः पुनःपिहित० DD, DE, ASB.
4. Unassigned DB, DE, ASC.
5. श्रीराधासखीं DC, DF, ASC, VSPA, VSPB, AKG ; श्रीराधां सखीं DB ; राधां सखीं DA ; राधां प्रति PB ; चन्द्रावलीवाक्यं सासूयं PA ; सासूयं वाक्यं DE, SSP TB, ASA, ASB, VSPA, VSPB ; साभ्यसूयवाक्यं PT ; साभ्यसूयं वाक्यं DA, DF ; चन्द्रावलीसख्या वाक्यं PB.
6. Occurs in *Amaru-śataka*, ed. Simon, IV M. 55, p. 141. Cited in *SKM* ii, 140, 5, (केशटस्य)=*Sml* ed. GOS, lxxxvi, 14 (कस्यापि), and in *Bhakti-rasāmṛta* p. 512 (यथा पद्यावल्याम्). Also cited anonymously in various works on Alaṃkāra, e.g. *Daśarūpaka*, on ii, 22=*Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*, v, 143, 172=Hemacandra's *Kāvyānuśāsana*, p. 102 =*Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, on iii, 105=*SRBh* p. 371, no. 2.
7. कृष्ण० is the reading of the Mss and editions of the *Padyāvalī*, but the texts mentioned fn. 6 above read कान्त० ; मम मञ्जरीति PA, SSP, ASA, ASB, *Daśarūpka*, *Sarasvatī-k.*, *SRBh*, *Sml*, Hemacandra, *Sāhitya-d.*

अन्यापि किं न सखि भाजनमीदृशीनां
वैरी न चेद्भवति वेपथुरन्तरायः ॥३०२॥
दामोदरस्य ॥

राधासख्याः साकूतवाक्यम्

यदवधि गोकुलमभितः समजनि कुसुमाचितासनश्रेणी ।
पीतांशुकप्रियेयं तदवधि चन्द्रावली जाता ॥३०३॥
गोवर्धनाचार्यस्य ॥

चन्द्रावलीं प्रति सखीवाक्यम्

सौजन्येन वशीकृता वयमतस्त्वां किञ्चिदाचक्ष्महे
कालिन्दीं यदि यासि सुन्दरि पुनर्मा गाः कदम्बाटवीम् ।

1. अन्यापि नैव सखि PB ; अन्यापि किं न खलु DA, DB, DC, VSPB, *Sāhitya-d.* ; भाजनमीदृशानां *Sml.*

2. वैरीभवेद् भवति PA ; न चेद्वपुषि *Sml.*

3. श्रीराधा० DB, VSPA, AKG, PT ; साभ्यसूयवाक्यं DF ; चन्द्रावलीं प्रति राधासख्या वाक्यम् PB ; राधायां साकूतवाक्यं ASC ; the whole heading omitted, ASB ; तां प्रति राधासख्याः साकूतं वाक्यम् VSPB.

5. Occurs in Govardhana's *Āryā-saptaśatī* (ed. Kāvyamālā, no. 436=ed. Dacca, no. 531), which however gives a somewhat different text ; यदवधि विवृद्धमात्रा [विवृद्धसान्द्रा Dacca ed.] विकसितकुसुमोत्करा शयश्रेणी । पीतांशुकप्रियेयं तदवधि पल्लीपतेः पुत्री ॥. PB reads कुसुमाचिता शयश्रेणी ।

7. गोवर्धनस्य PA ; unassigned PB, ASB.

8. गान्धर्वां प्रति DA, ASC, AKG, PT, Comm ; PB reads here no. 307 ; श्रीराधां प्रति सखी० VSPB.

9. This verse is omitted by PB. वयमदस्त्वां PA, DF.

कश्चित्तत्र नितान्तनिर्मलतमःस्तोमोऽस्ति यस्मिन्मनाग्
लग्ने लोचनसीम्नि नोत्पलदृशः पश्यन्ती पत्युर्गृहम् ॥३०४॥
गोविन्दभट्टस्य ॥

श्यामोऽयं दिवसः पयोदपटलैः सायं तथाप्युत्सुका
पुष्पार्थं सखि यासि यामुनतटं याहि व्यथा का मम ।
किन्त्वेकं खरकण्टकक्षतमुरस्यालोक्य सद्योऽन्यथा
शङ्कां यत् कुटिलः करिष्यति जनो जातास्मि तेनाकुला
॥३०५॥
कर्णपूरस्य ॥

गन्तव्या ते मनसि यमुना वर्तते चेत्तदानीं
कुञ्जं मा गाः सहजसरले वाञ्जुलं मद्वचोभिः ।
गच्छेस्तत्राप्यहह यदि वा मा मुरारेरुदारे
कुत्राप्येका रहसि मुरलीनादमाकर्णयेथाः ॥३०६॥
तैरभुक्तकवेः ॥

3. गोविन्दस्य ASC ; गोविन्दभट्टाचार्यस्य DD, DE.

4. This verse is omitted by DF, PB, SSP, ASA, ASB, VSPA. सेयं तथाप्युत्सुका DB, DC, IO.

5. यामि for यासि ASC ; वृथा for व्यथा DE.

6. किन्त्वेदं PA, ASC ; किन्त्वेकां DD ; ०लोक्य सख्यन्यथा PA.

7. यातास्मि DE. 8. Unassigned DB.

9. वर्तते चेदिदानीं AKG, PT. This verse is placed by VSPB after no. 307.

10. यामुनं for वाञ्जुलं PB.

13. तैरभुक्तस्य PB ; तस्यैव भक्तकवेः DD ; तस्यैव भुक्तकवेः DE.

तरले न कुरु विलम्बं कुम्भं सम्भृत्य मन्दिरं याहि ।
यावन्न मोहनमन्त्रं शंसति कंसद्विषो वंशी ॥३०७॥

समाहर्तुः ॥

पृष्ठेन नीपमवलम्ब्य कलिन्दजायाः
कूले विलासमुरलीं क्वणयन्मुकुन्दः ।
प्राक् पूरणात् कलसमम्भसि लोलयन्त्या
वक्त्रं विवर्तयति गोपकुलाङ्गनायाः ॥३०८॥

कस्यचित् ॥

सख्यो ययुर्गृहमहं कलसीं वहन्ती
पूर्णामतीवमहतीमनुलम्बितास्मि ।
एकाकिनीं स्पृशसि मां यदि नन्दसूनो
मोक्ष्यामि जीवनमिदं सहसा पुरस्ते ॥३०९॥

1. तरुणि न कुरु ASC.

2. यावन्मोहनमन्त्रं DA, PB, Comm ; यावन्न मे मन्त्रं SSP ; यावन्मोहमन्त्रं न ASC.

3. श्रीरूपस्य PA ; श्रीमद्रूपगोस्वामिनः PB ; समाहर्तुः श्रीमद्रूपगोस्वामिनः VSPB.

6. कलसमम्भसि लालयन्त्या PA. 8. Unassigned PA.

10. पूर्णामतीव बृहतीमनु० PT. 11. पिच्छमौले for नन्दसूनो PB.

12. AKG reads after this verse समाहर्तुः. ASA reads an additional verse (unassigned) after no. 309 :

निगमतरोः प्रतिशाखं मृगितं यत्तत् परं ब्रह्म ।
मिलितमिदानीमङ्के गोकुलपङ्केरुहाक्षीणाम् ॥

तां प्रति कस्याश्चिदुक्तिः

वलगन्त्या वनमालया तव हृतं वक्षोजयोश्चन्दनं
गण्डस्था मकरीघटा च मकरान्दोलेन विध्वंसिता ।
क्लान्ता स्वैरतरङ्गकेलिभिरियं तन्वी च धूर्ते तनुः
सत्यं जल्पसि भानुजामभि रसे मग्नाद्य हर्षादभूः ।।३१०।।

तद्भर्तारं प्रति सखीवाक्यम्

सुभग मम प्रियसख्याः किमिव सशङ्कं मुहुर्विलोकयसि ।
यामुनपवनविकीर्णप्रियकरजःपिञ्जरं पृष्ठम् ।।३११।।

1. अथ तां प्रति PB, DF ; कस्यचिदुक्तिः ASC ; कस्याश्चिद्वाक्यम् PA, VSPB ; सख्या वाक्यम् PB ; दत्तिवासखीवाक्यम् DD, DE, SSP, ASA, ASB.
2. वक्षोजयोः कुङ्कुमं PA, PB, VSPB.
3. मकरीघटापि PA, PB; मकरास्फालेन DE, PA, PB, SSP, ASA, ASB.
4. क्रान्ता DA, DF ; कान्ता DB ; तन्वी वधूनां तनुः PA
5. भानुजान्तु रसे AKG, PB ; भानुजामिति रसे ASC ; भानुजामुर (or ०मर) रसे PA. After this verse, AKG reads तस्यैव.
6. अथ तद्भर्तारं DF, PB.
7. किमिह सशङ्कं ASB ; मुहु० dropped in DC.
8. AKG reads after this verse तस्यैव ; कस्यचित् Comm.

चन्द्रावलीं प्रति तस्या वाक्यम्

कात्यायनीकुसुमकामनया किमर्थं
कान्तारकुक्षिकुहरं कुतुकाद् गतासि।
पश्य स्तनस्तवकयोस्तव कण्टकाङ्कं
गोपः सुकण्ठि वत पश्यति जातकोपः ॥३१२॥

समाहर्तुरिमे ॥

1. तां प्रति PA ; गान्धर्वां प्रति PB ; श्रीराधां प्रति VSPB ; सख्या वाक्यम् DC.
2. Cited in *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi*, p. 49 (anonymously). PT places this verse (with its heading) before no. 311. ASC does not give the whole verse but after giving the heading simply reads : कात्यान्तीना (?).
4. सद्यस्तनं स्तनयुगे तव कण्टकाङ्कं *Ujjvala-nīla*° (both eds.), TB (as alternative reading on the margin).
5. पत्युः स्वसा तव सशङ्कमुदीक्षतेऽसौ PA, AKG, TB (noted as alternative reading on the margin), *Ujjvala-nīla*° (पत्युः स्वसा सखि).
6. समाहर्तुरिमाः PT (placed after no. 311) ; समाहर्तुरिमौ DA, VSPB ; समाहर्तुः only ASB ; श्रीरूपस्यैतौ PA ; कस्यचित् Comm ; entirely omitted PB, ASC.

[अथ नित्यलीला

वृन्दावने मुकुन्दस्य नित्यलीला विराजते ।
स्पष्टमेषा रहस्यत्वाज्जानद्भिरपि नोच्यते ॥ ३१२ क ॥

ताभिर्नित्यविहारमेव तनुते वृन्दावने माधवो
गोष्ठाम्भोजमुखीभिरित्यभि मनाक् प्रोचे प्रियायै हरः ।
लीलारत्नरहस्यता व्रजपतेर्भूयस्यहो पश्य यत्
तत्त्वज्ञोऽपि पुरान्तरे च गमनं व्याचष्ट वैयासकिः ॥३१२ ख ॥

तथा हि पाद्मे पार्वत्यै व्याजहार हरो रहः ।
गोगोपगोपिकासङ्गे यत्र क्रीडति कंसहा ॥ ३१२ ग ॥]

1. This descriptive section, based on the Mathurā-māhātmya of the *Padma-purāṇa*, is given by DA, DC, DD, DE, AKG, PT, ASC and IO, but is omitted in DB, DF, PA, PB, SSP, TB, ASA, ASB, VSPA, VSPB. (IO omits it here, but places it after no. 313).
2. विराजिते ASC. 3. रहस्यत्वं जानद्भिः ASC.
5. ०मुखीभिरित्यभिमुखः DC ; ०मुखीभिरित्यति मनाक् DE, ASC; प्रियायै हरिः DC, IO.
6. लीलारत्नरहस्यतां DC, DD, DE, IO.
7. पुरान्तरेऽपि गमनं DC ; पुराद्धरेरगमनं AKG ; पुरान्तरेऽवगमनं DA, DD, DE, ASC.
8. पार्वत्यै व्याहरच्छङ्करो रहः DA, IO, PT.
9. Cited in *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi* p. 640 (पाद्मे पातालखण्डे मथुरामाहात्म्ये) ; the first line of this verse is given here as अहो अभाग्यं लोकस्य न पीतं यमुनाजलम्. IO reads at the end of these verses : एतानि समाहर्तुः.

अथ भाविनि हरेर्मथुराप्रस्थाने राधासखीवाक्यम्

अद्यैव यत् प्रतिपदुद्गतचन्द्रलेखा-
सख्यं त्वया वपुरिदं गमितं वराक्याः ।
कृष्णे गते कुसुमसायक तत् प्रभाते
वाणावलिं कथय कुत्र विमोक्ष्यसि त्वम् ॥ ३१३ ॥

रुद्रस्य ॥

राधावाक्यम्

प्रस्थानं वलयैः कृतं प्रियसखैरस्रैरजस्रं गतं
धृत्या न क्षणमासितं व्यवसितं चित्तेन गन्तुं पुरः ।

1. अथ स्पष्टलीलानुसारेण DA, DC, ASC ; अथ omitted DB, DF, PA, PB, IO, TB, VSPA, VSPB ; अथ प्रकट-लीलानुसारेण PT, AKG ; सखीवाक्यम् ASA.
2. Occurs in Rudrabhaṭṭa's *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka* (ed. Pischel) ii, 87. ॰चन्द्ररेखा DA, DB, DC, TB, PA, PB.
3. सख्या त्वया PA; सख्यं त्वया तनुरियं गमिता वराक्याः *Śṛṅgāra-t.*
4. कान्ते गते कुसुम॰ *Śṛṅgāra-t.*
5. बाणावलीं DD, DE, PA, SSP, ASA, ASB, ASC.
6. Unassigned IO.
7. The sentence opens with अथ DF, AKG ; श्रीराधा॰ DC, DF, PB.
8. Occurs in *Amaru-śataka*, ed. Simon, no. 31, p. 77 = ed. Kāvyamālā no. 36. Also cited in *Sbhv* 1151 (केषामपि) = *ŚP* 3424 (अमरुकस्य) = *SKM* ii, 54, 1 (unassigned) = *SRBh* p. 344, no. 21 (अमरुकस्य) = *Sml* ed. GOS, xxxvii, 19 (अमरुकस्य) = *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, on iii, 208 b (anonymously). प्रियसखै-र्बाष्पैरजस्रं *Sbhv.*
9. क्षणमास्थितं TB, some Mss of Amaru ; पुनः for पुरः *SKM.*

गन्तुं निश्चितचेतसि प्रियतमे सर्वे समं प्रस्थिता
गन्तव्ये सति जीवित प्रियसुहृत्सार्थः किमु त्यज्यते ॥३१४॥
अमरोः ॥

हरेर्मथुराप्रवेशे

छायापि लोचनपथं न जगाम यस्याः
सेयं वधूर्नगरमध्यमलङ्करोति ।
किं चाकलय्य मथुरानगरे मुकुन्द-
मन्धोऽपि बन्धुकरदत्तकरः प्रयाति ॥३१५॥
वाणीविलासस्य ॥

तत्र पुरस्त्रीवाक्यम्

असमञ्जसं मोक्तुं धिङ्‌ नः कर्णायते नयने ।
द्रष्टव्यं परिदृष्टं तत्कैशोरं व्रजस्त्रीभिः ॥३१६॥
तैरभुक्तस्य ॥

1. यातुं for गन्तुं AKG, *ŚP*, *SRBh*, *Sāhitya-d*, *Amaru-ś* (both eds.), *SKM*.
2. कथं for किमु DB, DC, DE, DF, PB, TB, IO, ASC, AKG, PT ; किमुत्सृज्यते *Sml*.
4. The sentence opens with अथ DB, DC, ASB, AKG, VSPA ; श्रीहरेर्मथुराप्रवेशः AKG ; हरेर्मथुराप्रवेशः DA, DD, DE, SSP, ASA, ASB ; हरेर्मथुराप्रवेशे तत्रत्यानामौत्सुक्यम् PT.
5. छाया विलोचनपथं PB.
7. मथुरानगरे DA, DB ; मथुरागमने PA.
10. Only पुरस्त्रीयामुक्तं ASC ; तत्र पुरस्त्रीणां वाक्यम् DA, PT.
13. तैरभुक्तकवेः DA, ASC, AKG, PT, Comm ; रघुपत्युपाध्यायस्य PB, VSPB.

सान्द्रानन्दमनन्तमव्ययमजं यद् योगिनोऽपि क्षणं
साक्षात्कर्तुमुपासते प्रतिदिनं ध्यानैकतानाः परम् ।
धन्यास्ता व्रजवासिनां युवतयस्तद् ब्रह्म याः कौतुका-
दालिङ्गन्ति समालपन्ति शतधाकर्षन्ति चुम्बन्ति च ॥३१७॥
वाहिनीपतेः ॥

प्रियसखि न जगाम वामशीलः
स्फुटममुना नगरेण नन्दसूनुः ।
अदलितनलिनीदलैव वापी
यदहतपल्लव एव काननान्तः ॥३१८॥
कुमारस्य ॥

1. Cited in Viśvanātha's *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, on vi, 315a (यथा मम).

4. समालसन्ति VSPB ; चुम्बन्ति वा PA.

5. कृष्णभट्टस्य PB ; unassigned SSP ; वाहिनीपण्डिते VSPB.

6. PB reads after no. 317 :

आनन्दकन्दमखिलश्रुतिसारमेक-
मध्यात्मदीपमतिदुस्तरमञ्जनाभम् ।
आकृष्य सान्द्रकुचयोः परिरभ्य कामं
सम्प्राप्य गोपवनिता बत पुण्यपुञ्जाः ॥
वाहिनीपतेः ॥

7. स्फुटमधुना नगरे न नन्दसूनुः PT, Comm.

8. The manuscript DF ends with ०नलिनीदलैव at fol. 52b.

श्रीराधाया विलापः

यास्यामीति समुद्यतस्य वचनं विस्रब्धमाकर्णितं
गच्छन् दूरमुपेक्षितो मुहुरसौ व्यावृत्य पश्यन्नपि ।
तच्छून्ये पुनरागतास्मि भवने प्राणास्त एव स्थिताः
सख्यः पश्यत जीवितप्रणयिनी दम्भादहं रोदिमि ॥३१६॥
रुद्रस्य ॥

1. श्री omitted DB ; अथ श्रीराधा० AKG ; श्रीराधिकाविलापः PB.
2. This verse is not found in Rudra's *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka* but occurs in *Amaru-śataka* ed. Simon, III, 79, p. 136=ed. Kāvyamālā no. 79. Also cited in *Sbhv* 1153 (कस्यापि)=*ŚP* 3435 (कस्यापि)=*Sml* ed. GOS, xl, 13=*SRBh* p. 298, no. 31 (anonymously). समुद्यतस्य वदतो *Sbhv* ; समुद्यतस्य गदितं *Amaru-ś* (both eds.), *SRBh*, *Sml* ; विश्वस्तं for विस्रब्धं PA ; विस्रम्भं IO.
3. दूरमपेक्षितो DB, DC, ASB, ASC ; व्यावृत्य तिष्ठन्नपि *ŚP*, *Amaru-ś* (both eds.), *SRBh*, *Sml*.
4. पुनरास्थितास्मि *Amaru-ś* (both eds.), *Sml* ; शयने for भवने *Sbhv* ; प्राणान्त एव AKG ; प्राणास्त एवास्थिता DA, DB, DC, TB, VSPA ; प्राणास्तमेवास्थिताः VSPB; प्राणास्त एते दृढाः *Sml*, *Amaru-ś* (ed. Simon) ; प्राणास्त एव दृढाः (contrary to metre) *Amaru-ś* (Kāvyamālā ed.), *ŚP*, *SRBh*.
5. सख्यस्तिष्ठत जीवितव्यसनिनी *Amaru-ś* (both eds.), *ŚP*, *SRBh*, *Sml* ; जीवितप्रणयितो PA.
6. श्रीकृष्णभट्टस्य PB ; unassigned DD. PB reads after this an additional verse :

   वस्त्रं वल्कलतां गृहं विपिनतां पुष्पाणि चाङ्गारतां
   शीतांशुर्दहतां जलं गरलतां भोज्यं च कीदृक् स्मृतम् ।
   शृङ्गारं गुरुतां भृशं च मनुते वेणीं च व्यालोलितां
   किं चान्यद् बहु विस्मृतं विरहिता न क्वापि धत्ते रुचिम् ॥
   राधाविलापः । रुद्रस्य ॥

गतो यामो गतौ यामौ गता यामा गतं दिनम् ।
हा हन्त किं करिष्यामि न पश्यामि हरेर्मुखम् ॥३२०॥

शङ्करस्य ॥

यमुनापुलिने समुत्क्षिपन्
नटवेशः कुसुमस्य कन्दुकम् ।
न पुनः सखि लोकयिष्यते
कपटाभीरकिशोरचन्द्रमाः ॥३२१॥

षष्ठीदासस्य ॥

याः पश्यन्ति प्रियं स्वप्ने धन्यास्ताः सखि योषितः ।
अस्माकं तु गते कृष्णे गता निद्रापि वैरिणी ॥३२२॥

धन्यस्य ॥

8. षष्टीवरदासस्य DA, PT, AKG, Comm.

9. Cited in *ŚP* 3434 (कस्यापि)=*SRBh* p. 297, no. 3 (anonymously).

10. गते कान्ते गता *ŚP*, *SRBh*. 11. कृष्णभट्टस्य PB.

11. PB reads, after this verse, an additional verse :

गोकुलस्य तु या शोभा धन्या मधुपुरे गता ।
अस्माकं हृदयं यत्र गोकुलं व्याकुलायते ॥ धन्यस्य ॥

and then it reads no. 328, after which comes no. 323. TB, ASB and VSPB read no. 328 after no. 322 ; TB and VSPB assign it as हरिभट्टस्य, while it is unassigned in ASB. But ASB repeats no. 328 in its proper place and assigns it there as हरिभट्टस्य.

सोऽयं वसन्तसमयो विपिनं तदेतत्
सोऽयं निकुञ्जविटपी निखिलं तदास्ते ।
हा हन्त किं तु नवनीरदकोमलाङ्गो
नालोकि पुष्पधनुषः प्रथमावतारः ॥३२३॥

सञ्जयकविशेखरस्य ॥

युगायितं निमेषेण चक्षुषा प्रावृषायितम् ।
शून्यायितं जगत्यापि गोविन्दविरहेण मे ॥३२४॥

श्रीभगवतः ॥

दलति हृदयं गाढोद्वेगं द्विधा न तु भिद्यते
वहति विकलः कायो मूर्च्छां न मुञ्चति चेतनाम् ।

1. विपिनं तदेव PA, VSPB.
5. सञ्जयस्य PA ; कृष्णभट्टस्य PB.
6. Cited in Kṛṣṇadāsa's *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, Antya xx, 39 and assigned to Caitanya. PA reads before no. 324 an additional verse :

सा भूमिस्तरवस्त एव मरुतस्ता एव गोपाङ्गनाः
सा गोवर्धनमूर्ध्नि कुञ्जकुटिका ते वै मयूराः खगाः ।
सा वृन्दावनवास्तुता व्रजगवां सा वै स्थितिर्निश्चला
जानेऽहं व्रजराजपुत्रविरहेणायाति दुःखात्मताम् ॥
सञ्जयस्य ॥

7. शून्यायितं जगत् सर्वं DB, DC, VSPA, AKG, PT, Comm.
8. श्रीश्री० DA, DB, DC, TB, ASC, PT, VSPA, VSPB.
9. Occurs in *Mālatī mādhava* ix, 11 = *Uttara-rāma-carita* iii, 31. Cited in *KVS* 468 (भवभूतेः) = *Sml* ed. GOS, xliii, 39 (भवभूतेः). For गाढोद्वेगं some Mss of the drama read गाढोद्वेगो, गाढोत्कण्ठं and कामः कामं ; द्विधा तु न भिद्यते *Sml*.
10. कायो मोहं न PA, *KVS*, *Sml*.

ज्वलयति तनूमन्तर्दाहः करोति न भस्मसात्
प्रहरति विधिर्मर्मच्छेदी न कृन्तति जीवितम् ॥३२५॥
भ्रमय जलदानम्भोगर्भान् प्रमोदय चातकान्
कलय शिखिनः केकोत्कण्ठान् कठोरय केतकान्।
विरहिणि जने मूर्च्छां लब्ध्वा विनोदयति व्यथा-
मकरुण पुनः संज्ञाव्याधिं विधाय किमीहसे ॥३२६॥

एतौ भवभूतेः ॥

दृष्टं केतकधूलिधूसरमिदं व्योम क्रमाद्वीक्षिताः
कच्छान्ताश्च शिलीन्ध्रकन्दलभृतः सोढाः कदम्बानिलाः।

2. PB and VSPB read after this verse भवभूतेः and omit the next verse, reading it later.

3. Occurs in *Mālatī-mādhava* ix, 42. Cited in *ŚP* 3453 (भवभूतेः)=*Sml*, ed. GOS, xliii, 34.

4. केकागर्भान् *Sml*.

8. This verse occurs in Rudra's *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka*, ed. Pischel, ii, 84. केतकिधूलि° DB, DC. Cited in *SKM* ii, 55, 4 (रुद्रटस्य). Before this verse, PB reads no. 335 then no. 329, then no. 330, 326 (unassigned) ; then 327, after which 332, 333, and then goes on to no. 334, omitting no. 331 altogether. The reading of VSPB is the same, with this difference that it reads no. 331 after 333, and that after no. 326 it reads एतौ भवभूतेः। No. 328 is already placed before (see note 11 to no. 322).

9. कक्षान्ताश्च *Śṛṅgāra-t.*

सख्यः संवृणुताश्रु मुञ्चत भयं कस्मान्मुधैवाकुला
एतानप्यधुनास्मि वज्रघटिता नूनं सहिष्ये घनान् ॥३२७॥
रुद्रस्य ॥

सेयं नदी कुमुदबन्धुकरास्त एव
तद् यामुनं तटमिदं विपिनं तदेतत् ।
ते मल्लिकासुरभयो मरुतस्त्वमेव
हा प्राणवल्लभ सुदुर्लभतां गतोऽसि ॥३२८॥
हरिभट्टस्य ॥

यदुनाथ भवन्तमागतं
कथयिष्यन्ति कदा मदालयः ।
युगपत् परितः प्रधाविता
विकसद्भिर्वदनेन्दुमण्डलैः ॥३२९॥
तैरभुक्तकवेः ॥

अयि दीनदयार्द्रनाथ हे
मथुरानाथ कदावलोक्यसे ।

2. एतानप्यधुनातिवज्र॰ *Śṛṅgāra-t.*

4. ॰करास्त एते PT, VSPB, VSPA. 5. विपिनं सदेव PA.

6. मरुतस्त एव PA, PB, ASB, ASC, PT, AKG.

8. Only भट्टानां PB. 10. कदा मदालयं DA, DC, PA.

11. परितः छधाविता IO.

13. तैरभुक्तस्य DA, PA, PB, TB, AKG, PT, Comm.

14. Cited in Kṛṣṇadāsa's *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* and assigned to Mādhavendra-purī (Madhya iv, 197 ; Antya viii, 32) = *Padakalpataru* of Vaiṣṇavadāsa no. 1653 (anonymously).

15. कदा विलोक्यसे PA.

हृदयं त्वदलोककातरं
दयित भ्राम्यति किं करोम्यहम् ।।३३०।।
श्रीमाधवेन्द्रपुरीपादानाम् ।।

प्रथयति न तथा ममार्तिमुच्चैः
सहचरि वल्लवचन्द्रविप्रयोगः ।
कटुभिरसुरमण्डलैः परीते
दनुजपतेर्नगरे यथास्य वासः ।।३३१।।
श्रीरघुनाथदासस्य ।।

चूताङ्कुरे स्फुरति हन्त नवे नवेऽस्मिन्
जीवोऽपि यास्यतितरां तरलस्वभावः ।

1. हृदयं तदलोक० DC, SSP, ASA, ASB, PT.
3. श्री omitted DC, PB, IO, ASC, VSPA ; श्रीमन्माधवेन्द्र० PT, Comm ; ०पुरीश्रीपादानां DA, DD, DE, PA, PB, IO, TB, AKG, VSPB, VSPA.
4. After no. 330, DA, IO, ASC, PT, VSPA read no. 333. For the sequence of these verses in PB, which omits no. (331), see note 8 under no. 326 above. व्यथयति न तथा PA.
7. ०नगरे यदस्य वासः AKG.
8. राज्ञस्य PT, Comm ; कस्यचित् PA, AKG ; unassigned DB, DC ; हरेः VSPB.
9. DB, DC, VSPA, PT place this verse (332) after no. 333.

किं त्वेकमेव मम दुःखमभूदनल्पं
प्राणेश्वरेण सहितो यदयं न यातः ॥३३२॥

राङ्गस्य ॥

आशैकतन्तुमवलम्ब्य विलम्बमाना
रक्षामि जीवमवधिर्नियतो यदि स्यात् ।
नो चेद्विधिः सकललोकहितैककारी
यत् कालकूटमसृजत्तदिदं किमर्थम् ॥३३३॥

हरेः ॥

प्रसर शिशिरामोदं कौन्दं समीर समीरय
प्रकटय शशिन्नाशाः कामं मनोज समुल्लस ।
अवधिदिवसः पूर्णः सख्यो विमुञ्चत तत्कथां
हृदयमधुना किञ्चित् कर्तुं ममान्यदिहेच्छति ॥३३४॥

रुद्रस्य ॥

नायाति चेद् यदुपतिः सखि नैतु कामं
प्राणास्तदीयविरहाद् यदि यान्ति यान्तु ।

3. Apparently वाङ्गस्य in DE, SSP, ASA, ASB, VSPB, and in PA, PB ; सारङ्गस्य DA ; unassigned TB.

6. हितैककर्ता IO.

8. श्रीरघुनाथदासस्य PT, Comm ; unassigned VSPB.

9. Occurs in Rudra's *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka*, ed. Pischel, ii, 91=*SKM*, ii, 55, 5 (रुद्रटस्य)=*Sml*, ed. GOS, xl, 18 (रुद्रस्य). शिशिरामोदन्नोदं *Śṛṅgāra-t*. ; मन्दं for कौन्दं *Sml*.

10. कामं मनोभव जृम्भताम् *Śṛṅgāra-t.*, *Sml* ; काम प्रपञ्चय दुःस्थताम् *SKM*.

11. विमुञ्चत मत्कथां PA.

12. कर्तुं ममाद्य किलेच्छति PT.

13. रघुनाथस्य PT, Comm.

एकः परं हृदि महान् मम वज्रपातो
भूयो यदिन्दुवदनं न विलोकितं तत् ॥३३५॥

हरिभट्टस्य ॥

पञ्चत्वं तनुरेतु भूतनिवहाः स्वांशे विशन्तु स्फुटं
धातारं प्रणिपत्य हन्त शिरसा तत्रापि याचे वरम् ।

1. नातः परं VSPB. 3. Only भट्टाः PB.

4. Cited in *ŚP* 3428 (आकाशपोलेः)=Jalhaṇa (Bhandarkar's *Report*, 1887-91, p. xxii ; ed. GOS xliii, 32 आकाशपोलेः)=*Sbhv* 1355 (दाक्षिणात्यस्य कस्यापि) =*Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi*, p. 396 (यथा पद्यावल्याम्)= *SRBh*, p. 298, no. 30 (anonymously). The verse is also cited from *ŚP* and translated by Aufrecht in *ZDMG*, xxvii, p. 9. तनुरेति भूतनिवहः स्वं स्वं विशत्वीप्सितं *ŚP* ; Aufrecht reads स्वांशं विशत्वीप्सितं, but he also metions the readings स्वं स्वं विशत्वीप्सितं, स्वं स्वं विशत्वालयं and स्वांशैर्मिलिन्तु ध्रुवम् ; स्वांशान् PA, *Sbhv* ; स्वांशं विशन्तु प्रभो *Sml* ; स्वांशे मिलन्तु ध्रुवं *SRBh* ; तनुरेति VSPB ; ध्रुवं for स्फुटं DA.

5. The reading of the text is also noticed by Aufrecht ; त्वां याचे द्रुहिण प्रणम्य शिरसा भूयोऽपि कृत्वाञ्जलिम् PA (this reading also noticed by Aufrecht) ; त्वां याचे द्रुहिण प्रणम्य शिरसा भूयोऽपि मे सन्त्विति *Sml* ; याचे त्वां द्रुहिण प्रणम्य शिरसा भूयोऽपि भूयान्मम *ŚP*, Aufrecht ; धातस्त्वां शिरसा प्रणम्य कुरु मामित्यत्र याचे पुनः *Sbhv* ; शिरसा याचेऽहमेकं वरम् VSPB.

तद्वापीषु पयस्तदीयमुकुरे ज्योतिस्तदीयाङ्गन-
व्योम्नि व्योम तदीयवर्त्मनि धरा तत्तालवृन्तेऽनिलः ॥३३६॥
षाण्माषिकस्य ॥

आश्लिष्य वा पादरतां पिनष्टु मा-
मदर्शनान्मर्महतां करोतु वा ।
यथा तथा वा विदधातु लम्पटो
मत्प्राणनाथस्तु स एव नापरः ॥३३७॥
श्रीभगवतः ॥

1. ज्योतिस्तदीयालय० PA, *ŚP*, *Sbhv*, *Sml*, Aufrecht (but Aufrecht notices also the reading of the text).
2. धरां तत्तालवृन्तेऽनिलम् *Sbhv*.
3. कस्यचित् DA, DD, DE, PA, PB, AKG ; unassigned ASC.
4. Cited in *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi*, p. 306 (यथा पद्यावल्याम्) = Kṛṣṇadāsa's *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, Antya xx, 47 cited and assigned to Caitanya. This verse is omitted in PB,
6. विदधातु नागरो DB, TB, VSPA, *Ujjvala-nīla°* (both eds.) ; लम्पटो corrected into मां सखे PA.
7. श्रीश्री० DA, DB, DC, PT, VSPA, VSPB ; भगवतः SSP ; भागवतः ASA.

मथुरायां यशोदास्मृत्या कृष्णवाक्यम्

ताम्बूलं स्वमुखार्धचर्वितमितः को मे मुखे निक्षिपे-
दुन्मार्गप्रसृतं च चाटुवचनैः को मां वशे स्थापयेत् ।
एह्येहीति विदूरसारितभुजः स्वाङ्के निधायाधुना
केलिस्रस्तशिखण्डकं मम पुनर्व्याधूय बध्नातु कः ।।३३८।।
तैरभुक्तस्य ।।

अथ श्रीराधास्मृत्या हरेर्वाक्यम्

यदि निभृतमरण्यं प्रान्तरं वाप्यपान्थं
कथमपि चिरकालं पुण्यपाकेन लप्स्ये ।

1. अथ मथुरायां AKG ; श्रीयशोदां स्मृत्वा DB, DC, AKG ; यशोदां स्मृत्वा DA, DD, PA, VSPA, PT ; श्रीकृष्ण° DB, DC, PB, TB, VSPA, VSPB, AKG, PT.
3. °दुन्मार्गे प्रसृतं ASB, AKG ; प्रसृतं सचाटुवचनैः IO.
4. साङ्के PT.
5. बध्नीत कः PB.
6. रघुपत्युपाध्यायस्य PB ; तैरभुक्तस्य रघुपत्युपाध्यायस्य VSPB.
7. श्री omitted DA, PA, IO, ASC ; श्रीराधां स्मृत्वा DB, DC, DE ; राधां स्मृत्वा PA, IO, VSPA ; अथ राधायाः स्मृत्या TB ; श्रीहरे° AKG ; हरिवाक्यम् PA ; श्रीकृष्ण-वाक्यम् VSPB ; the heading entirely omitted PB.
8. निभृतमरण्यप्रान्तरं DB ; प्राप्य पान्थं DB, DC, AKG ; वाप्यपायं PA.
9. कमपि च चिरकालं SSP, ASA, ASB. The first two *pādas* of this verse (no. 339) are missing in PB, which notes on the margin गतमर्धम् ।

अविरलगलदस्रैर्घर्घरध्वानमिश्रैः
शशिमुखि तव शोकैः प्लावयिष्ये जगन्ति ॥३३९॥
तैरभुक्तकवेः ॥

उद्धवं प्रति हरेर्वाक्यम्

विषयेषु तावदबलास्तास्वपि गोप्यः स्वभावमृदुवाचः ।
मध्ये तासामपि सा तस्यामपि साचिवीक्षितं किमपि ॥३४०॥
कस्यचित् ॥

उद्धवेन राधायां हरेः सन्देशः

आविर्भावदिने न येन गणितो हेतुस्तनीयानपि
क्षीयेतापि न चापराधविधिना नत्या न यो वर्धते ।

2. शशिमुखि त्वदलोकैः DB, DC ; तव केशैः PA ; तव लोकैः VSPA.

3. तैरभुक्तस्य PA, SSP, ASA, AKG ; रघुपत्युपाध्यायस्य PB ; तैरभुक्तरघुपत्युपाध्यायस्य VSPB ; unassigned IO ; तस्यैव DB, DC, VSPA.

4. अथोद्धवं प्रति DD, DE, SSP, ASA, ASB ; श्रीहरे० DB ; श्रीकृष्ण० ASB ; कृष्ण० DD, DE, SSP, ASA.

5. गोप्यो मृदुवाचः PB ; स्वभावमृदुस्वभावाः PA ; स्वभावतो मृदुवाचः DD, DE ; स्वभावमृदुश्च ASC.

6. PB drops सा तस्यामपि ; PA drops साचि ; ASC drops all words from मध्ये to the end of हरेः सन्देशः।

8. श्रीराधायां IO ; हरिरुद्धवमुखेन राधां सन्दिशति PA, PB ; हरिरुद्धवेन राधां दिशति VSPB.

10. क्षीयेताममुनापराधविधिना (corrected reading on the margin) PB ; नुत्या न यो DB, DC.

पीयूषप्रतिवेदिनस्त्रिजगतीदुःखद्रुहः साम्प्रतं
प्रेम्णस्तस्य गुरोः कथं नु करवै वाङ्निष्ठतालाघवम् ॥३४१॥
केषाञ्चित् ॥

आस्तां तावद्वचनरचनाभाजनत्वं विदूरे
दूरे चास्तां तव तनुपरीरम्भसम्भावनापि ।
भूयो भूयः प्रणतिभिरिदं किं तु याचे विधेया
स्मारं स्मारं स्वजनगणने क्वापि रेखा ममापि ॥३४२॥
केशवभट्टाचार्याणाम् ॥

वृन्दावनं गच्छत उद्धवस्य वाक्यम्

इयं सा कालिन्दी कुवलयदलस्निग्धमधुरा
मदान्धव्याकूजत्तरलजलरङ्कुप्रणयिनी ।
पुरा यस्यास्तीरे सरभससतृष्णं मुरभिदो
गताः प्रायो गोपीनिधुवनविनोदेन दिवसाः ॥३४३॥
दशरथस्य ॥

1. पीयुषप्रतित्रादिन० IO, TB ; ०स्त्रिजगतां दुःखद्रुहः PT.
2. गुरोः : किमद्य करवै PA, PB, VSPB, AKG.
3. कस्यचित् PB, VSPB, PT, Comm.
4. Cited anonymously in *SRBh*, p. 305, no. 22.
6. ASC drops lines 6-7.
7. स्वगणगणने ASB ; रेखा मदीया DD, DE, SSP, ASA.
8. केशवभट्टाचार्यस्य DA, PT, Comm ; केशवाचार्यस्य DD, DE, PA, SSP, ASA, ASB, AKG ; केशवभट्टस्य IO.
9. अथ वृन्दावनं AKG, Comm ; उद्धववाक्यम् ASB, ASC.
10. Cited in *SKM* v, 11, 4 as शरणस्य.

पुरेयं कालिन्दी व्रजजनवधूनां स्तनतटी-
तनूरागैर्भिन्ना शबलसलिलाभूदनुदिनम् ।
अहो तासां नित्यं रुदितगलितैः कज्जलजलै-
रिदानीं यातेऽस्मिन् द्विगुणमलिनाभून्मुररिपौ ॥३४४॥
सर्वानन्दस्य ॥

इदं तत् कालिन्दीपुलिनमिह कंसासुरभिदो
यशः शृण्वद् वक्तृस्खलितकवलं गोकुलमभूत् ।
भ्रमद्वेणुक्वाणश्रवणमसृणोत्तारमधुर-
स्वराभिर्गोपीभिर्दिशि दिशि समुद्घूर्णमनिशम् ॥३४५॥
मोटकस्य ॥

ताभ्यो नमो वल्लववल्लभाभ्यो
यासां गुणैस्तैरभिचिन्त्यमानैः ।
वक्षःस्थले निःश्वसितैः कदुष्णै-
र्लक्ष्मीपतेर्म्लायति वैजयन्ती ॥३४६॥
कस्यचित् ॥

1. व्रजवरवधुनां PB (corrected reading on the margin).

5, Unassigned DD, DE.

6. Cited in *SKM* v, 11, 5 as केशटस्य, इदं तु PB ; कालिन्दीतटमिह हि PA, PB, *SKM*.

8. भ्रमाद्वेणु° *SKM*.

9. समुद्गूर्ण° DA ; समुद्गीर्ण PB, VSPB, *SKM*.

10. मोदकस्य PA ; नाटकस्य ASB.

15. Unassigned DA.

व्रजदेवीकुलं प्रत्युद्धववाक्यम्

वियोगिनीनामपि पद्धतिं वो
न योगिनो गन्तुमपि क्षमन्ते ।
यद् ध्येयरूपस्य परस्य पुंसो
यूयं गता ध्येयपदं दुरापम् ॥३४७॥

कस्यचित् ॥

उद्धवे दृष्टे सखीं प्रति राधावाक्यम्

कल्याणं कथयामि किं सहचरि स्वैरेषु शश्वत् पुरा
यस्या नाम समीरितं मुररिपोः प्राणेश्वरीति त्वया ।
साहं प्रेमभिदाभयात् प्रियतमं दृष्ट्वापि दूतं प्रभोः
सन्दिष्टास्मि न वेति संशयवती पृच्छामि नो किञ्चन ॥३४८॥

रामचन्द्रदासस्य ॥

1. प्रति तद्वाक्यं VSPB ; गोपीः प्रति तद्वाक्यम् PA ; गोपीं प्रति तद्वाक्यम् PB.

4. यन्मेघरूपस्य परस्य PA ; तद्ध्येय० PT.

6. कस्यचित् in PA, PB, VSPB, AKG, PT, Comm, but unassigned in all other Mss.

7. श्रीराधावाक्यम् AKG, PT ; the whole heading omitted PA, PB.

8. प्रथयामि किं DB, DC, PB, TB, PT, VSPA.

12. श्रीरामचन्द्रदासस्य PA, VSPB ; श्रीरामदासस्य PB.

श्रीराधां प्रत्युद्धववाक्यम्

मलिनं नयनाञ्जनाम्बुभि-
र्मुखचन्द्रं करभोरु मा कुरु ।
करुणावरुणालयो हरि-
स्त्वयि भूयः करुणां विधास्यति ॥३४९॥
षष्ठीदासस्य ॥

उद्धवं प्रति राधासखीवाक्यम्

हस्तोदरे विनिहितैककपोलपाले-
रश्रान्तलोचनजलस्नपिताननायाः ।
प्रस्थानमङ्गलदिनावधि माधवस्य
निद्रालवोऽपि कुत एव सरोरुहाक्ष्याः ॥३५०॥
हरिहरस्य ॥

1. अथ श्रीराधां AKG ; श्री omitted PA, PB ; the whole heading omitted SSP.
2. Cited in *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi*, p. 277 (यथा पद्यावल्याम्). नयनाञ्जनादिभिः ASC ; नयनाम्बुधारया IO, *Ujjvala-nīla*° (both eds.) ; नयनाम्बुभि० DC.
6. षष्ठीवरदासस्य DA, PT, Comm.
7. अथोद्धवं प्रति AKG ; उद्धवं प्रति श्रीराधायाः प्रत्युत्तरं ASC ; उद्धवं दृष्ट्वा राधावाक्यं सखीं प्रति PA.
8. Cited in *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu*, p. 830 (यथा-पद्यावल्याम्). ०कपोलपाली० DE, PA, TB, IO ; कपोलपायो० PT, Comm.
9. निस्पन्दलोचनजल० PA.
12. हरिहरदासस्य DB, DC, VSPA.

निश्चन्दनानि वणिजामपि मन्दिराणि
निष्पल्लवानि च दिगन्तरकाननानि ।
निष्पङ्कजान्यपि सरित्सरसीकुलानि
जातानि तद्विरहवेदनया न शान्तम् ॥३५१॥

तस्यैव ॥

प्राणस्त्वं जगतां हरेरपि पुरा सङ्केतवेणुस्वना-
नादाय व्रजसुभ्रुवामिह भवान् मार्गोपदेशे गुरुः ।
हं हो माथुरनिष्कुटानिल सखे सम्प्रत्यपि श्रीपते-
रङ्गस्पर्शपवित्रशीतलतनुस्त्राता त्वमेकोऽसि नः ॥३५२॥

रामचन्द्रदासस्य ॥

राधासख्या एव कृष्णे सन्देशः

त्वद्देशागतमारुतेन मृदुना सञ्जातरोमाञ्चया
त्वद्रूपाङ्कितचारुचित्रफलके सन्तर्पयन्त्या दृशम् ।

5. Unassigned DA, ASC. After this verse PB reads : राधासख्या एव कृष्णे सदेन्शः instead of after no. 352.

9. ॰स्त्राता त्वमेवासि नः PT.

10. श्रीरामदासस्य PB ; unassigned IO ; श्रीरामचन्द्रदासस्य VSPB.

11. अथ राधा॰ DC, DD, PT, Comm ; अथ श्रीराधा॰ AKG ; श्रीराधासख्या IO ; श्रीकृष्णे AKG, IO ; कृष्णसन्देशः DD, DE ; PB omits this heading here but places it after no. 351.

12. Occurs in Trivikrama Bhaṭṭa's *Nala-campū* or *…ayantī-kathā* vi, 23 (ed. NSP, Bombay 1903) …, ed. GOS, xliv, 5 (त्रिविक्रमस्य).

13. त्वद्रूपाञ्चितचित्र॰ TB; निर्वापयन्त्या *Nala-c.*; ॰फलकेनावर्जयन्त्या दृशम् *Sml.*

त्वन्नामामृतसिक्तकर्णपुटया त्वन्मार्गवातायने
तन्व्या पञ्चमगीतगर्भितगिरा रात्रिन्दिवं स्थीयते ॥३५३॥
त्रिविक्रमस्य ॥

अङ्के ऽनङ्गज्वरहुतवहश्चक्षुषि ध्यानमुद्रा
कण्ठे जीवः करकिशलये दीर्घशायी कपोलः ।
अंसे वेणी कुचपरिसरे चन्दनं वाचि मौनं
तस्याः सर्वं स्थितमिति न च त्वां विना क्वापि चेतः ॥३५४॥
क्षेमेन्द्रस्य ॥

दृष्टे चन्द्रमसि प्रलुप्ततमसि व्योमाङ्गनस्थेयसि
स्फूर्जन्निर्मलतेजसि त्वयि गते दूरं निजप्रेयसि ।

2. नीचैः पञ्चमगीति० *Sml*, *Nala-campū* ; पञ्चमगीतगर्वित० IO ; नक्तन्दिनं *Nala-campū* ; नक्तन्दिवं *Sml* ; रात्रिन्दिनं PA.

4. Cited in *ŚP* 3474 (क्षेमेन्द्रस्य)=Jahlaṇa (Bhandarkar, *op. cit.* p. xxvi) क्षेमेन्द्रस्य ; ed. GOS, xliv, 6 (राजशेखरस्य, but other Mss give क्षेमेन्द्रस्य)=*SRBh*, p. 302, no. 48 (क्षेमेन्द्रस्य)=Kṣemendra's *Karikaṇṭhābharaṇa* iii, 2 (यथा मम पद्यकादम्बर्याम्).

7. सर्वं स्थितिमिति PT ; न तु त्वां विना *ŚP*, *SRBh*, *Sml*.

9. Cited in *ŚP* 3480 (भल्लटस्य)=Jahlaṇa (Bhandarkar, *op. cit.* p. xxxvi) भीमभट्टस्य ; ed. GOS, xliv, 10 (भीमटस्य)=Śaraṇadeva's *Durghaṭa-vṛtti* iii, 1, 11 (anonymously)=*SKM* ii, 36, 1 (कस्यचित्)=*Sbhv* 1987 (कस्यापि)=*SRBh*, p. 303, no. 68 (भल्लटस्य). The verse cannot be traced in the *Bhallaṭa-śataka*. प्रलूनतमसि *Sbhv*, *SRBh*. The first two *pādas* are read in *SKM*, *Durghaṭa* and *Sml* as :

अस्मिंश्चन्द्रमसि प्रसन्नमहसि व्याकोष-
[व्याकोच *Sml*] कुन्दत्विषि
प्राचीनं ककुभमुपेयुषि त्वयि मनाग् दूरं गते प्रेयसि
[त्वयि गते दूरं निजप्रेयसि *Sml*] ॥

श्वासः कैरवकोरकीयति मुखं तस्याः सरोजीयति
क्षीरोदीयति मन्मथो दृगपि च द्राक् चन्द्रकान्तीयति ।।३५५।।
भीमभट्टस्य ।।

अस्याः सदा विरहवह्निशिखाकलाप-
तप्ते स्थितोऽसि हृदये त्वमिह प्रियायाः ।
प्रालेयशीकरसमे हृदि ते मुरारे
राधा क्षणं वसति नैव कदापि धूर्त ।।३५६।।
शङ्करस्य ।।

अस्यास्तापमहं मुकुन्द कथयाम्येणीदृशस्ते कथं
पद्मिन्याः सरसं दलं विनिहितं यस्याः सतापे हृदि ।

2. मन्मथो मृगदृशो दृक् चन्द्र० *ŚP*, *Sbhv*, *SRBh*.

4. Cited in *ŚP* 3479 (कस्यापि)=*Sbhv* 1399 (कस्यापि) =*Sml*, ed. GOS, xliv, 27 (कस्यापि)=*SRBh*, p. 302, no. 40 (anonymously). तस्या महाविरह० *ŚP*, *SRBh* ; तस्या महाशिखरवह्नि० *Sbhv* ; तस्याः सदा *Sml* ; तस्याः for अस्याः DB, PB.

5. हृदये सततं प्रियायाः *ŚP*, *Sbhv*, *Sml*, *SRBh*.

6. हृदि सा मुरारे PB ; हृदि सा कृपालो *ŚP*, *Sbhv*, *Sml*, *SRBh*.

7. बाला क्षणं *ŚP*, *Sbhv*, *Sml*, *SRBh* ; नैव शठ त्वदीये PB, VSPB ; नैव खलु त्वदीये *ŚP*, *Sbhv*, *Sml*, *SRBh* ; धूर्तो SSP.

9. Cited in *KVS* 289 (उत्पलराजस्य)=*Sml*, ed. GOS, xliv, 25 (कस्यापि)=*SKM* ii, 31, 1 (कस्यचित्). तस्याः for अस्याः PA, PB, *KVS*, *SKM*, *Sml* ; ०स्तापभुवं *KVS* ; नृशंस for मुकुन्द *KVS*, *SKM*, *Sml*.

10. यस्याः शमायोरसि *KVS*, *SKM* ; यस्याः सतापोरसि *Sml*.

आदौ शुष्यति सङ्कुचत्यनु ततश्चूर्णत्वमापद्यते
पश्चान्मुर्मुरतां दधद्दहति च श्वासावधूतः शिखी ॥३५७॥

शान्तिकरस्य ॥

उद्धूयेत तनूल्तेति नलिनीपत्रेण नो बीज्यते
स्फोटः स्यादिति नाङ्कं मलयजक्षोदाम्भसा सिच्यते ।
स्यादस्यातिभरात् पराभव इति प्रायो न वा पल्लवा-
रोपो वक्षसि तत् कथं कृशतनोराधिः समाधीयताम् ॥३५८॥

आनन्दस्य ॥

2. दधाति दहति श्वासावधूतं सखीः *SKM* ; श्वासावधूतां सखीम् *KVS* ; श्वासावधूतं सखीम् *Sml*.

3. शान्तिकस्य DB, DC, IO, VSPA, TB ; unassigned ASC. DB and DC read after this an additional verse :

दृष्ट्वा चन्द्रमसं नमस्यति मुहुः सूक्तेन भासां निधेः
पाणिस्पृष्टपटीरपङ्कमनिशं वक्त्रानिलैः सेवते ।
श्रुत्वा कोकिलकाकलीं नतमुखी दम्भोलिसंस्तम्भनं
सातङ्कं बत बम्भणीति च कथं वामभ्रुवामाधयः ॥

and read एतौ आनन्दस्य after no. 358, instead of आनन्दस्य only.

4. Cited in *SRBh*, p. 290, no. 57 (anonymously). ०पत्रेण नोद्वीज्यते PT, AKG.

निवसति यदि तव हृदये सा राधा वज्रघटितेऽस्मिन् ।
तत् खलु कुशलं तस्याः स्मरविशिखैस्ताड्यमानयाः ॥३५९॥

कस्यचित् ॥

उन्मीलन्ति नखैर्लुनीहि वहति क्षौमाञ्चलेनावृणु
क्रीडाकाननमाविशन्ति वलयक्वाणैः समुत्रासय ।
इत्थं पल्लवदक्षिणानिलकुहूकण्ठीषु साङ्केतिक-
व्याहाराः सुभग त्वदीयविरहे राधासखीनां मिथः ॥३६०॥

शम्भोः ॥

1. Cited in *Sml*, ed. GOS, xliv, 11 (भानुपण्डितस्य). वज्रघटिते तस्मिन् DA, DD, DE, SSP, ASA, ASB, ASC.
2. तस्या मदनशरैस्ताड्यमानायाः PA, PB, *Sml*.
4. Cited in *SKM* ii, 30, 4 (अमरोः)=*ŚP* 3489 (सत्कविमिश्रस्य)=*Sml*, ed. GOS, xliv, 13 (कस्यापि)= *Subhāṣita-hārāvali* 38a, 110 (anonymously)= *SRBh*, p. 303, no. 73 (as in *ŚP*)=*Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, on x, 79 (anonymously).
5. क्रीडाकाननमाश्रयन्ति *Sml*.
6. वञ्जुलदक्षिणानिल॰ *SKM*, *ŚP*, *SRBh*, *Sml*, *Sāhitya-d* ; ॰कुहूकण्ठेषु PA, *SRBh*, *Sāhitya-d*.
7. त्वदीयविरहे तस्याः सखीनां all texts cited in the note 4 above.

गलत्येका मूर्च्छा भवति पुनरन्या यदनयोः
किमप्यासीन्मध्यं सुभग निखिलायामपि निशि ।
लिखन्त्यास्तत्रास्याः कुसुमशरलेखं तव कृते
समाप्तिं स्वस्तीति प्रथमपदभागोऽपि न गतः ॥३६१॥
शचीपतेः ॥

चित्राय त्वयि चिन्तिते तनुभुवा चक्रे ततज्यं धनु-
र्वर्तिं धर्तुमुपागतेऽङ्गुलियुगे बाणो गुणे योजितः ।
प्रारब्धे तव चित्रकर्मणि धनुर्मुक्तास्त्रभिन्ना भृशं
भित्तिं द्रागवलम्ब्य केशव चिरं सा तत्र चित्रायते ॥३६२॥
बाणस्य ॥

1. Cited in *SP* 3477 (कस्यापि) = *Sml*, ed. GOS, xliv, 20 (बिह्लणस्य) = *SRBh*, p. 302, no. 58 (anonymously). तदनयोः DB, DC.

2. किमप्यासीन्मध्ये *ŚP*, *SRBh*; किमप्यासीत्सख्यं PA; सकलायामपि निशि *ŚP*.

3. लिखन्त्यास्तत्तस्याः *ŚP*, *SRBh*.

6. Cited in Jahlaṇa's *Sūkti-muktāvalī* 79a (Bhandarkar's *Report* 1887-91, pp. i-liv कुन्तलपतेः); ed. GOS, xliv, 21 (सिंहलपतेः) = *SRBh*, p. 304, no. 92 (anonymously). चिन्तिते स्मृतिभुवा सज्जीकृतं स्वं धनु॰ *SRBh*; तनुभुवा सज्यं वितेने धनुर *Sml*.

7. ॰गतेऽङ्गुलिमुखे PA; बाणा गुणे योजिताः *SRBh*, *Sml*.

8. आरब्धे for प्रारब्धे *Sml*; चित्रकर्मणि पुनस्त्वद्बाणभिन्ना सती *SRBh*; सती for भृशं PA.

9. द्रागवलम्ब्य सिंहलपते सा तत्र *SRBh*; द्रागवलम्ब्य निर्दय चिरं *Sml*.

10. बालस्य ASB, PT, Comm; बाणस्य IO.

त्वामन्तःस्थिरभावनापरिणतं मत्वा पुरोऽवस्थितं
यावद्दोर्वलयं करोति रभसादग्रे समालिङ्गितुम् ।
तावत्तं निजमेव देहमचिरादालिङ्ग्य रोमाञ्चितां
दृष्ट्वा वृष्टिजलच्छलेन रुदितं मन्ये पयोदैरपि ॥३६३॥

कस्यचित् ॥

अच्छिन्नं नयनाम्बु बन्धुषु कृतं तापः सखीष्वाहितो
दैन्यं न्यस्तमशेषतः परिजने चिन्ता गुरुभ्योऽर्पिता ।

1. Cited in *Sml* ed. GOS, xliv, 22 (कस्यापि). त्वामन्तः-स्थितभावना० IO ; ०भावनापरिगतं ASC.
2. रभसान्मुग्धा *Sml* ; रभसादग्रे समालिङ्गितं PA.
3. तावत्तां *Sml* ; रोमाञ्चितं PA ; ०दालिङ्ग्य बाधातुरां *Sml*.
5. Unassigned ASC.
6. Not found in Rudra's *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka*, but occurs in *Amaru-śataka*, ed. Simon, no. 78, p. 108=ed. Kāvyamālā, no. 110. Also cited in *Sbhv* 1407 (अमरुकस्य)=*ŚP* 3486 (अमरुकस्य)=*Sml*, ed. GOS, xliv, 20 (अमरुकस्य)=*SKM* ii, 32, 2 (कस्यचित्)= *Daśa-rūpaka*, on iv, 27 (anonymously). Also cited and translated by Aufrecht in *ZDMG*, xxxvi, p. 548. कृतं चिन्ता गुरुष्वर्पिता *Amaru-ś* (both eds.) ; कृतं चिन्ता गुरुभ्योऽर्पिता *SKM*, *Daśa-r*, Aufrecht ; नयनाश्रु *Sml*.
7. दत्तं दैन्यमशेषतः परिजने तापः सखीष्वाहितः *Amaru-ś* (both eds.), *SKM*, *Daśa-r*, Aufrecht ; न्यस्तं दैन्यमशेषतः *Sbhv*, *Sml*.

अद्य श्वः किल निर्वृ तिं व्रजति सा श्वासैः परैः खिद्यते
विस्रब्धो भव विप्रयोगजनितं दुःखं विभक्तं तया ॥३६४॥
रुद्रस्य ॥

अथास्या एव सप्रणयेर्ष्यं जल्पितम्

मुखमाधुर्यसमृद्ध्या परहृदयस्य ग्रहीतरि प्रसभम् ।
कृष्णात्मनि परपुरुषे सौहृदकामस्य का शरीराशा ॥३६५॥
जगन्नाथसेनस्य ॥

अथ व्रजदेवीनां सोत्प्रासः सन्देशः

वाचा तृतीयजनसङ्कटदुःस्थया किं
किं वा निमेषविरसेन विलोकितेन ।

1. श्वः परनिर्वृ तिं *Amaru-ś* (both eds.), परिनिर्वृ तिं *SKM*, *Daśa-r.*, Aufrecht ; किल निर्वृ तं VSPA ; परं स्विद्यते DB, DC, VSPA, VSPB, *SKM*, *Sml*, Aufrecht.
3. सूर्यस्य PB.
4. एव omitted PB ; प्रणयेर्ष्यं PT ; प्रणयेर्षं DD, DE, ASA, ASB, VSPB ; सप्रेमेर्ष्यं PB ; सप्रेमेर्षं AKG ; सेर्ष्यं PA.
5. परहृदयग्रहीतरि DA ; गृहीतरि DB, DC, SSP, ASA ; गृहीतविप्रसभम् PB, IO, ASC, PT.
6. परपूरुषे PA.
7. The name prefixed with श्री DB, DC, PB, VSPA, VSPB.
8. अथ omitted and गोपीनां PA ; गोपीनां सोत्प्रासः PB ; सोत्प्राससन्देशः DD, DE, SSP, ASA, ASB.
10. निमेषविरसेन IO.

हे नाथ नन्दसुत गोकुलसुन्दरीणा-
मन्तश्चरी सहचरी त्वयि भक्तिरेव ॥३६६॥
कस्यचित् ॥

अथ यथार्थसन्देशः

मुरलीकलनिक्वणैर्या गुरुलज्जाभरमप्यजीगणन् ।
विरहे तव गोपिकाः कथं समयं ता गमयन्तु माधव ॥३६७॥
षष्ठीदासस्य ॥

मथुरापथिक मुरारेरुपगेयं द्वारि वल्लवीवचनम् ।
पुनरपि यमुनासलिले कालियगरलानलो ज्वलति ॥३६८॥
वीरसरस्वत्याः ॥

1. हा नाथ PT.
2. ०मन्तश्चरी भवतु मे त्वयि DB ; सहचरी त्वयि dropped DC.
3. Unassigned ASC.
5. गुरुलज्जाभयमप्य० VSPA.
8. Cited in *SKM* i, 62, 5 (वीरसरस्वत्याः) = *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi*, p. 241 (यथा पद्यावल्याम्). उद्गेयं द्वारि *SKM*.
10. Unassigned IO. DB and DC add (unassigned) the following verse after this :

उद्धवं प्रति हरेर्वाक्यम्

तातः किं कुरुते द्रुतं वद सखे किं चेष्टते वा प्रसूः
किं वा बालकदम्बकं वितनुते गावस्तु केनासते ।
पृष्ट्वेत्थं सकलस्य वृत्तमपि यत्प्रेमानुबन्धः पुनः
सा किं जीवति वा न वेति सकलं वक्तुं न शक्तो हरिः ॥

अथ द्वारावतीस्थस्य हरेर्विरहः

कालिन्दीमनुकूलकोमलरयामिन्दीवरश्यामलाः
शैलोपान्तभुवः कदम्बकुसुमैरामोदिनः कन्दरान् ।
राधां च प्रथमाभिसारमधुरां जातानुतापः स्मर-
न्नस्तु द्वारवतीपतिस्त्रिभुवनामोदाय दामोदरः ॥३६९॥

शरणस्य ॥

कामं कामयते न केलिनलिनीं नामोदते कौमुदी-
निस्यन्दैर्न समीहते मृगदृशामालापलीलामपि ।
सीदन्नेष निशासु निःसहतनुर्भोगाभिलाषालसै-
रङ्गैस्ताम्यति चेतसि व्रजवधूमाधाय मुग्धो हरिः ॥३७०॥

तस्यैव ॥

1. द्वारवतीस्थस्य DC, IO, VSPA, PT ; द्वार्वतीस्थस्य TB ; द्वारकास्थस्य DD, DE, SSP, ASA, ASB ; कृष्णस्य विरहः PA, PB.
2. Cited in *SKM* i, 61, 2 (शरणस्य).
3. ०कुसुमैरामोदिताः कन्दराः PA.
6. Unassigned PA.
7. Cited in *SKM* i, 61, 3 (शरणस्य).
7. नलिनीमामोदते DE, IO, ASA, ASB, ASC, PT ; नलिनीरामोदते PA ; कोमुदीं DB, DC, DE, VSPA.
8. निस्पन्दैर्न DB, DC ; निःस्पन्देन PA.
9. दुःसहतनुर्भोगा० *SKM*.
10. व्रजवधूमादाय DA, DB, DC, PA, IO, TB, VSPA.
11. Unassigned ASB; PA gives no name here, but after the next verse (no. 371) it writes उमापतिदासस्यैतौ ।

रत्नच्छायाच्छुरितजलधौ मन्दिरे द्वारकाया
रुक्मिण्यापि प्रबलपुलकोद्भेदमालिङ्गितस्य ।
विश्वं पायान्मसृणयमुनातीरवानीरकुञ्जे
राधाकेलीपरिमलभरध्यानमूर्च्छा मुरारेः ॥३७१॥

उमापतिधरस्य ॥

निर्मग्नेन मयाम्भसि प्रणयतः पाली समालिङ्गिता
केनालीकमिदं तवाद्य कथितं राधे मुधा ताम्यसि ।
इत्युत्स्वप्नपरम्परासु शयने श्रुत्वा वचः शार्ङ्गिणो
रुक्मिण्या शिथिलीकृतः सकपटं कण्ठग्रहः पातु वः ॥३७२॥

तस्यैव ॥

1. Cited in *SKM* i, 61, 1 (उमापतिधरस्य)= *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi*, p. 392 (यथा पद्यावल्याम्). द्वारिकायां DB, DC, TB, ASA, VSPB, *SKM* ; द्वारिकाया PA.
2. प्रततपुलकोद्भेद° *SKM*.
3-4. °वानीरकुञ्जेष्वाभीरस्त्रीनिभृतचरितध्यानमूर्च्छा *SKM* ; राधाकेली-भरपरिमल° DC, TB, PB, PT, VSPB.
5. उमापतिदासस्यैतौ (दासस्य added on the margin) PA ; unassigned VSPB ; उमापतिधरभट्टस्य TB.
6. Cited in *SKM* i, 53, 5 (कस्यचित्)= *SRBh*, p. 15, no. 26 (anonymously). मयाम्भसि स्मरभयात्पाली *SKM*, *SRBh* ; पालिः AKG.
8. इत्थं स्वप्नपरम्परासु *SKM*.
9. सव्याजं शिथिलीकृतः कमलया PA, *SRBh* ; कण्ठग्रहं TB.
10. कस्यचित् PA, PB ; एतौ तस्यैव VSPB.

अथ वृन्दावनाधीश्वरीविरहगीतम्

याते द्वारवतीपुरं मुररिपौ तद्वस्त्रसंव्यानया
कालिन्दीतटकुञ्जवञ्जुललतामालम्ब्य सोत्कण्ठया ।
उद्गीतं गुरुबाष्पगद्गदगलत्तारस्वरं राधया
येनान्तर्जलचारिभिर्जलचरैरप्युत्कमुत्कूजितम् ॥३७३॥

अपराजितस्य ॥

1. वृन्दावनेश्वरीविरह॰ DD, DE, ASB, ASC, AKG ; ॰विरहज-गीतम् PT ; वृन्दावनेश्वरीगीतम् ASC ; राधाविरहगीतं (अथ omitted) PA, PB.
2. Cited in *SKM* i, 58, 4 (कस्यचित्)= *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi*, p. 395 (यथा पद्यावल्याम्). Also cited anonymously is many works on Alaṃkāra, e.g. *Dhvanyāloka*, p. 25 = *Vakrokti-jīvita* ii, 59 = Hemacandra's *Kāvyānuśāsana*, p. 73 = Vāgbhaṭa's *Alaṃkāra-tilaka*, p. 54. याते द्वारवतीं तदा in all these texts, except *SKM* which reads द्वारवतीं पुरं ; मधुरिपौ *SKM* ; तद्वस्त्रसंवीतया PA ; तद्दत्तकम्पानतां *Dhvanyāloka* and *SKM* ; तद्दत्तसम्पादनां *Vakrokti*° ; तद्दत्तझम्पानतां Hemacandra, Vāgbhaṭa.
3. कालिन्दीजलकेलिवञ्जुल॰ *Vakrokti-j* ; कालिन्दीतटरूढवञ्जुल॰ *Davanyāloka*, Hemacandra, Vāgbhaṭa ; ॰मञ्जुल॰ VSPA.
4. तद्गीतं in all texts cited in note 2, except *SKM* ; तद्गीतं DD (corrected from यद्गीतं), PA, SSP, ASA ; यद्गीतं (corrected from तद्गीतं) DE.
6. Unassigned PA.

अथ व्रजदेवीनां सन्देशः

पान्थ द्वारवतीं प्रयासि यदि हे तद्देवकीनन्दनो
वक्तव्यः स्मरमोहमन्त्रविवशा गोप्योऽपि नामोज्झिताः ।
एताः केलिकदम्बधूलिपटलैरालोकशून्या दिशः
कालिन्दीतटभूमयोऽपि भवतो नायान्ति चित्तास्पदम् ॥३७४॥

गोवर्धनाचार्यस्य ॥

ते गोवर्धनकन्दराः स यमुनाकच्छः स चेष्टारसो
भाण्डीरः स वनस्पतिः सहचरास्ते तच्च गोष्ठाङ्गनम् ।
किं ते द्वारवतीभुजङ्ग हृदयं नायाति दोषैरपी-
त्यन्याद्धो हृदि दुःसहं व्रजवधूसन्देशशल्यं हरेः ॥३७५॥

नीलस्य ॥

कालिन्द्याः पुलिनं प्रदोषमरुतो रम्याः शशाङ्कांशवः
सन्तापं न हरन्तु नाम नितरां कुर्वन्ति कस्मात् पुनः ।

1. अथ omitted DA, PA, PB, IO, TB ; गोपीनां PA, PB.
2. Cited in *SKM* i, 62, 2 (कस्यचित्). The verse is not found in Govardhana's *Āryā-saptaśatī*. प्रयाहि यदि PA.
3. ०मन्त्रविकला VSPB.
4. एताः केतकगर्भधूलिपटलैरालोक्य शून्या
5. तव भो for भवतो DB, DC, PA, IO, TB, ASC, VSPA, AKG, PT ; तरवो नायान्ति *SKM* ; चिन्तास्पदं PA, PB, VSPB.
7. Cited in *SKM* i, 62, 1 (unassigned). स चेष्टो वटो AKG, PT, Comm ; स चेष्टो रसः PA ; चेष्टावटो TB, VSPA ; स जृम्भारसो VSPB.
8. सहचरास्ते ताश्च गोपाङ्गनाः VSPB.
9. हृदये नायाति DA ; नायान्ति *SKM*, VSPB.
12. Cited in *SKM* i, 62, 4 (पञ्चतन्त्रकृतः) = *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi*, p. 453 (यथा पद्यावल्याम्).

सन्दिष्टं व्रजयोषितामिति हरेः संश्रृण्वतोऽन्तःपुरे
निःश्वासाः प्रसृता जयन्ति रमणीसौभाग्यगर्वच्छिदः ॥३७६॥

पञ्चतन्त्रकृतः ॥

सुदामानं प्रति श्रीद्वारकेश्वरवचनम्

मा गा इत्यपमङ्गलं व्रज सखे स्नेहेन शून्यं वचः
तिष्ठेति प्रभुता यथाभिलषितं कुर्वित्युदासीनता ।
ब्रूमो हन्त सुदाम मित्र वचनं नैवोपचारादिदं
स्मर्तव्या वयमादरेण भवता यावद् भवद्दर्शनम् ॥३७७॥

हरेः ॥

4. श्रीसुदामानं विप्रं प्रति DA, VSPB ; श्रीदामानं TB, ASC, AKG ; सुदामानं विप्रं प्रति DB, PB, IO, VSPB, PT, AKG ; द्वारकेश्वर॰ IO, ASB, ASC ; ॰वाक्यम् for ॰वचनम् DD, DE, SSP, AKG ; only द्वारिकेश्वरवचनं PA.

5. Cited in *Sbhv* 1049 (दाक्षिणात्यस्य कस्यचित्). मा याहीत्यपमङ्गलं *Sbhv* ; व्रज किल स्नेहेन PA.

6. प्रभुता यथारुचि कुरु प्रोक्तेऽप्युदासीनता DB, DC, VSPA ; यथारुचि कुरुष्वैषाप्युदासीनता PA, *Sbhv*.

7. सत्यं हन्त सुदाम PT. *Sbhv* reads these two *pādas* as :
नो जीवामि विना त्वयेति वचनं सम्भाव्यते वा न वा
तन्मां शिक्षय नाथ यत्समुचितं वक्तुं त्वयि प्रस्थिते ॥

9. Unassigned PA, ASA, SSP.

स्वगृहादिकं दृष्ट्वा तस्य वचनम्

तद्गेहं नतभित्ति मन्दिरमिदं लब्धावकाशं दिवः
सा धेनुर्जरती चरन्ति करिणामेता घनाभा घटाः ।
स क्षुद्रो मुषलध्वनिः कलमिदं सङ्गीतकं योषितां
चित्रं हन्त कथं द्विजोऽयमियतीं भूमिं समारोपितः ॥३७८॥

कस्यचित् ॥

अथ कुरुक्षेत्रे श्रीवृन्दावनाधीश्वरीचेष्टितम्

येनैव सूचितनवाभ्युदयप्रसङ्गा
मीनाहतिस्फुरिततामरसोपमेन ।
अन्यन्निमील्य नयनं मुदितेव राधा
वामेन तेन नयनेन ददर्श कृष्णम् ॥३७९॥

हरस्य ॥

आनन्दोद्गतबाष्पपूरपिहितं चक्षुः क्षमं नेक्षितुं
बाहू सीदत एव कम्पविधुरौ शक्तौ न कण्ठग्रहे ।

1. This heading omitted in PB.
2. This verse omitted in PB ; लब्धावकाशं PT.
5. द्विजोऽयमियता भूमिं IO.
7. श्री omitted DA ; श्रीवृन्दावनेश्वरी० AKG ; वृन्दावनेश्वरी० TB, IO, ASC ; राधाचेष्टितं PA, PB, VSPB.
8. Cited in *Sml*, ed. GOS, liv, 8 (उत्प्रेक्षावल्लभस्य).
9. मीनाहतस्फुरित० PT ; पीनाकृतिः for मीनाहति VSPB.
10. अन्यद्विमील्य IO ; मुदितेव PB ; अन्यं निमील्य नयनं मुदितैव छभ्रूर *Sml*.
13. Cited in *Sbhv* 2065 (श्रीडामरस्य)=*SKM* ii, 132, 1 (कस्यचित्)=*Sml*, ed. GOS, liv, 10 (कस्यापि). आनन्दोद्यत० VSPB.
14. बाहू स्वेदितयैव कम्प० *Sml*.

वाणी सम्भ्रमगद्गदाक्षरपदा संक्षोभलोलं मनः
सत्यं वल्लभसङ्गमोऽपि सुचिराज्जातो वियोगायते ॥३८०॥
शुभ्रस्य ॥

अथ रहस्यनुनयन्तं कृष्णं प्रति

किं पादान्ते लुठसि विमनाः स्वामिनो हि स्वतन्त्राः
कञ्चित् कालं क्वचिदभिरतस्तत्र कस्तेऽपराधः ।
आगस्कारिण्यहमिह यया जीवितं तद्वियोगे
भर्तृप्राणाः स्त्रिय इति ननु त्वं ममैवानुनेयः ॥३८१॥
कस्यचित् ॥

1. वाणी साध्वसगद्गदा॰ *Sbhv*, *Sml.*
2. यत्सत्यं प्रियसङ्गमोऽपि *Sbhv*, *Sml*, *SKM* ; वल्लवसङ्गमोऽपि IO ; सुचिरादादौ *Sbhv*, *SKM.*
3. शूद्रस्य SSP ; भ्रमरस्य ASB ; शुभस्य VSPB.
4. रहसि omitted SSP ; प्रति राधावाक्यम् DD, DE, PT.
5. Cited in *KVS* 356 (वाक्कूटस्य)=*SKM* ii, 47, 1 (भावदेव्याः)=*Sml*, lvii, 14 (कस्यापि). Cited and translated also by Aufrecht in *ZDMG*, xxxvi, p. 520. पादान्ते पतसि विरम *KVS*, *SKM*, *Sml*, Aufrecht.
6. क्वचिदपि रतः TB, Aufrecht ; क्वचिदपि रतिस्तेन *KVS* ; क्वचिदसि रतस्तेन *SKM.*
7. ॰मिह मया जीवितं ASB, ASC, PT, VSPB.
8. त्वं मयवानुनेयः DA, PB, TB, IO, ASC, VSPB, Comm, *SKM*, Aufrecht.
9. Unassigned PB.

अथ तत्रैव सखीं प्रति राधावचनम्

यः कौमारहरः स एव हि वरस्ता एव चैत्रक्षपा-
स्ते चोन्मीलितमालतीसुरभयः प्रौढाः कदम्बानिलाः ।
सा चैवास्मि तथापि तत्र सुरतव्यापारलीलाविधौ
रेवारोधसि वेतसीतरुतले चेतः समुत्कण्ठते ॥३८२॥

कस्यचित् ॥

1. श्रीराधा० PA, ASB, AKG, PT ; सखीं प्रति omitted and राधावाक्यम् PA.
2. Cited in *KVS* 508 (unassigned)=*ŚP* 3768 (शीलाभट्टारिकायाः)=*SKM* ii, 12, 3 (कस्यचित्)=*Sml*, ed. GOS, lxxxvii, 9 (शीलाभट्टारिकायाः)=*SRBh*, p. 369, no. 42 (शीलाभट्टारिकायाः). Quoted anonymously in many Alaṃkāra works, e.g. *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* i, 2 ; *Kārya-prakāśa* i, 4 etc. Also cited and translated by Aufrecht, *op. cit.* वरस्ताश्चन्द्रगर्भा निशा० *KVS, SKM, Sml.*
3. प्रोन्मीलन्नवमाधवीसुरभयस्ते ते च विन्ध्यानिलाः *KVS, SKM* ; प्रोन्मीलन्नवमालतीसुरभयः *Sml* ; ०मालतीपरिमलाः Aufrecht.
4. तथापि चोर्यसुरतव्यापारलीलाभृतां *KVS, SKM*; तथापि चौर्यसुरत० PA, *ŚP*, *SRBh*, *Sml*,
5. कृष्णारोधसि ASC ; वेतसीवनभुवां *KVS, SKM.*

2-5. Aufrecht notices also the following readings : तच्चेन्दुगर्भाः क्षपाः, प्रोन्मीलन्नवमालतीपरिमलामोदानुकूलानिलाः, तच्चन्द्रगर्भा निशाः, प्रोन्मीलन्नवमालतीसुरभयस्ते ते च विन्ध्यानिलाः, ०व्यापारलीलाभृतां, वेतसीवनभुवां ।

6. Unassigned PA, ASC.

प्रियः सोऽयं कृष्णः सहचरि कुरुक्षेत्रमिलित-
स्तथाहं सा राधा तदिदमुभयोः सङ्गमसुखम् ।
तथाप्यन्तःखेलन्मधुरमुरलीपञ्चमजुषे
मनो मे कालिन्दीपुलिनविपिनाय स्पृहयति ॥३८३॥
समाहर्तुः ॥

समाप्तौ मङ्गलाचरणम्

मुग्धे मुञ्च विषादमत्र बलभित्कम्पो गुरुस्त्यज्यतां
सद्भावं भज पुण्डरीकनयने मान्यानिमान् मानय ।

1. Cited in Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* Madhya i, 76 as Rūpa Gosvāmin's. This verse is omitted in PB.

2. तथा साहं राधा DA, PA, SSP, TB, ASA, ASB, VSPB.

5. श्रीरूपगोस्वामिनां PA ; DD and DE read here श्रीरूप-गोस्वामिनां विधि followed by समाहर्तुः (perhaps विधि comes in wrongly here from p. 177, l. 2 (no. 384).

6. अथ समाप्तौ AKG ; माङ्गल्यवचनं ASC ; मङ्गलाचरणौ PB ; IO drops all words from मङ्गलाचरणं up to the end of सद्भावं (in no. 384).

7. Cited in *SBhv* 84 (दाक्षिणात्यस्य कस्यापि)=*SKM* i, 67, 5 (पुण्डरीकस्य)=*SRBh*, p. 15, no. 29 (दाक्षिणात्यस्य).

लक्ष्मीं शिक्षयतः स्वयंवरविधौ धन्वन्तरेर्वाक्छला-
दित्यन्यप्रतिषेधमात्मनि विधिं शृण्वन् हरिः पातु वः ॥३८४॥
कस्यचित् ॥

यदुवंशावतंसाय वृन्दावनविहारिणे ।
संसारसागरोत्तारतरये हरये नमः ॥३८५॥
अविलम्बसरस्वत्याः ॥

भ्राम्यद्भास्वरमन्दराद्रिशिखरव्याघट्टनाद्विस्फुर-
त्केयूराः पुरुहूतकुञ्जरकरप्राग्भारसंवर्धिनः ।
दैत्येन्द्रप्रमदाकपोलविलसत्पत्राङ्कुरच्छेदिनो
दोर्दण्डाः कलिकालकल्मषमुषः कंसद्विषः पान्तु वः ॥३८६॥
योगेश्वरस्य ॥

1. लक्ष्मीं बोधयतः *Sbhv.*

2. ०दित्यन्यत्र प्रतिषेध० DE ; ०दन्यत्र प्रतिषेध० PA, *Sbhv*, *SRBh*; इदं for विधिं DE.

3. Unassigned PA ; AKG assigns this verse (no. 384), as well as no. 385, to अविलम्बसरस्वती, with the words एतौ अविलम्बसरस्वत्याः under no. 385.

6. अविलम्बसरस्वतीनां PA, PB, VSPB.

7. Cited in *SKM* i, 59, 1 (कस्यचित्). भ्राम्यद्भासुरमन्दरा० DB, DC, PB, TB, AKG, PT.

8. प्राग्भारसम्बन्धिनः DC, ASC ; प्राग्भारसंवर्धनाः PA.

जयदेवबिल्वमङ्गलमुखैः कृता येऽत्र सन्ति सन्दर्भाः ।
तेषां पद्यानि विना समाहृतानीतराण्यत्र ॥३८७॥

इति श्रीमद्रूपगोस्वामिसमाहृता पद्यावली समाप्ता ॥

1. विना पराणि वत संगृहीतानि DD, PA, PB. DA reads after this verse : अत्र श्लोकाः ८५०॥ DB, DC, IO, TB, SSP, ASB, VSPA, AKG, PT and Comm read, after no. 387, an additional verse :

लसदुज्ज्वलरसछमना गोकुलकुलपालिकालिनीबलितः ।
यदभीप्सितमभिदद्यात् तल्यातमालकल्पपादपः कोऽपि ॥

[*Variae lectiones* : गोकुलपालिका० ASB ; गोकुलरस-पालिका० ASA ; ०कुलपालिकालिबलितः SSP, ASA, ASB ; गोकुलकुलपालिनीबलितः IO ; गोकुलकुलपालिकालिकलितः PT, AKG, Comm ; मदभीप्सितमपि VSPA, PT; SSP reads after the verse कस्यचित्]. But this verse is omitted by DA, DD, PA, PB, ASC, VSPB. ASA omits this verse here, but reads it as an added verse after the colophon. TB reads another additional verse after this :

कृतं न सुकृतं मया कृतमहो महादुष्कृतं
कृतान्तनगरे गतिर्भवतु मे तत्र कीदृशी ।
न भो न दिनभोगदिग्भ्रमणामस्मात्परं पुन-
स्तथा कुरु यथा तटे तव घटेत वासो मम ॥

SSP also reads another additional verse after लसदुज्ज्वलरस० :

राधाधरसुधाधारधरायाधरसंश्रिये ।
गोपालपुरराजाय नमः पीताम्बराय ते ॥

But TB and ASA would regard this as an added verse after the colophon. ASA reads after no. 387: श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ श्रीचैतन्यनित्यानन्दचरणौ शरणं मम । स्यातां समस्तवैगुण्यध्वंसिनौ जन्मजन्मनि ॥ then comes the colophon इति पद्यावली समाप्ता, after which it adds in order लसदुज्ज्वलरसछमना० and राधाधरसुधाधार०

3. For the colophons and added verses after them in different Mss, see the section on Description of Mss.

NOTES ON AUTHORS
CITED IN THE TEXT



NOTES ON AUTHORS

APARĀJITA

One Aparājita is mentioned by Rājaśekhara (end of the 9th and beginning of the 10th century) in the Prologue to his *Karpūra-mañjarī* as the contemporary author of *Mṛgāṅkalekhā-kathā*. This author is probably the same as is cited by Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, although in the printed text of the latter work the name occurs as Aparājiti. Peterson would identify this author with a poet, named Bhaṭṭa Aparājita, who is quoted in *Sbhv* no. 1024 (*kṣut-kṣāmeṇa katham*). Another poet Aparājita-rakṣita is quoted twice in *KVS* (nos. 5 and 443) and *SKM* (ed. Lahore, i, 74, 2 and i, 87, 4) respectively ; but he is probably not identical with Rājaśekhara's contemporary Aparājita. Our Aparājita is also probably a different person ; for the only one verse (unless it is a case of wrong attribution) quoted under his name (no. 373 *yāte dvāravatī-puram*) appears to be a verse much older than Rājaśekhara, having been quoted anonymously in the *Dhvanyāloka* p. 25 and the *Vakrokti-jīvita* ii, 59.

ABHINANDA

The only one verse attributed to this author in our Anthology (no. 149) is also ascribed to him in *SKM* (i, 52, 1) and in the *Subhāṣita-hārāvalī* (Thomas, Introd. *KVS* p. 21), although the same verse is cited anonymously in *KVS* no. 46. But the problem of identity is a difficult one. Abhinanda is quoted largely in the Anthologies and fairly copiously in *SKM* (for references, see ed. Lahore, Introd. p. 37-8, 22 citations ; see also Thomas, *op. cit.*). A Gauḍa Abhinanda (nos. 1090, 3485), as well as an Abhinanda without a descriptive title (nos. 3763, 3917), is quoted in *ŚP.* The Gauḍa Abhinanda has been identified with Abhinanda, son of Jayanta and author of *Kādambarī-kathā-sāra* (ed. Kāvyamālā 11, Bombay 1899). In the opening verses of this work the author gives the name of a direct ancestor in the seventh degree as Śakti and describes him as a Gauḍa ; while his reference to his fifth ancestor Śakti-svāmin as the minister of Muktāpīḍa (*alias* Lalitāditya, *Rāja-t.* iv, 39-43) of the Karkoṭa family (of Kashmir, end of the 7th and first half of the 8th century)[1] fixes his date at about the first half of the 9th century. This work is cited by Abhinavagupta in his *Locana* (p. 142).[2] This Abhinanda could scarcely have been a contemporary of Rājaśekhara, as stated by Aufrecht (*Catalogus Catalogorum* i, p. 24) and Thomas (*op. cit.*, p. 21). He is certainly cited by

[1] Introd. to *Gauḍavaho* (ed. Bom.S. S., 2nd Ed., Poona 1927) pp. lxviii f.

[2] In the prited text (ed. Kāvyamālā 25, Bombay 1911) of the *Locana* the work is ascribed to Bhaṭṭa Jayantaka (*yathā bhaṭṭa-jayantakasya kādambarī-kathā-sāram*), but the India Office Ms (no. 1008, E 1135) which we have consulted reads instead : *yathā bhaṭṭa-jayanta-sutasya abhinandasya kṛte kādambarī-kathā-sāre.*

Kṣemendra (*Suvṛtta-tilaka* iii, 16=*Kādambarī-k.s.* i, 16) and Bhoja (*Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhā°* v, 218, ed. Kāvyamālā 1925= *Kādambarī-k. s.* viii, 80),[1] by the former as Abhinanda only and by the latter anonymously. Kṣemendra states that Abhinanda was fond of the Anuṣṭubh metre (iii, 29), in which metre the *Kādambarī-kathā-sāra* is for the most part composed. A poet Abhinanda is cited by Jahlaṇa (R. G. Bhandarkar, *Report* 1887-91, p. vii), but he may or may not be the same person. Fragments of quotations from a poet Abhinanda are also to be found in Ujjvaladatta's commentary on the *Uṇādi-sūtra*, as well as in Rāyamukuṭa on *Amara-kośa*. There is, however, no very strong ground for identifying Abhinanda of the *Kādambarī-kathā-sāra* with the Gauḍa Abhinanda or simple Abhinanda of the Anthologies, unless we emphasise the description of one of the former's ancestors as Gauḍa; for none of the Anthology verses are traceable in that work, although there is a possibility of his having written other poetical works. It is more likely that the Gauḍa Abhinanda of the Anthologies was a different poet, who belonged to Gauḍa, but who could not have been much later, having been quoted in *KVS*; and this makes it natural that *SKM*, belonging to Bengal, should quote him so extensively. He may or may not have been the same as Abhinanda-paṇḍita, whose *Yoga-vāśiṣṭha-saṃkṣepa* in 6 prakaraṇas and 46 sargas is noticed by Weber (Berlin State Library Manuscript Catalogue, no. 643), and who is described in the colophon to that work as *tarka-vādīśvara-sāhityācārya-gauḍa-maṇḍalālaṃkāra-śrīmat*. It is noteworthy that Abhinanda of the *Kādambarī-kathā-s.* describes himself as *sādhu-sāhitya-tattva-vid*. Abhinanda, son of Śatānanda and

1 This verse *candrāpīḍaṃ sā jagrāha* is also cited by Śiṅgabhūpāla in his *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* p. 192; but he probably takes it secondhand from Bhoja.

author of *Rāma-carita* (ed. Gaekwad's Oriental Series no. xlvi, 1930; see introduction, pp. xi-xiii), was probably a different person.

AMARU

All the verses from Amaru cited in this Anthology will be found in the critical text of the *Amaru-śataka* edited by Simon (Kiel, 1893), as well as in Arjuna-varman's text published in the Kāvyamālā 18. In the Anthologies, however, these verses are differently attributed, in some cases to to different authors, two of the poets who come in for this divided honour being Dharmakīrti and Vikaṭanitambā. The Anthology quotations from Amaru will be found collected together in Thomas, *op. cit.* pp. 22-25. That the *Amaru-śataka* has suffered from interpolations is admitted, but no attempt has yet been made to study the text critically in its different recensions. Informations about Amaru are meagre (see Simon, *op. cit.*), but he must have been already a poet of established reputation in the time of Ānandavardhana (middle of the 9th century A. D.), who rightly praises (*Dhvanyāloka* p. 142) Amaru's verses as containing the essence of the erotic sentiment. The verses of Amaru are of course quoted in our anthology in a different context, having been *vaiṣṇavised* to suit our compiler's purpose. The same procedure is adopted with regard to most classical authors cited, e.g. Bhavabhūti, Rudrabhaṭṭa, Govardhana, Trivikrama etc.

ĪŚVARA PURĪ

For information about this author see our Introduction. See also *C-Bh* Ādi, viii, ix, xv ; *C-C* Ādi, iii 94, ix 11, x 138, xiii 54, xvii, 8 ; Madhya, iv 18, x 132-3 ; Antya, viii 26-30. The *C-C* tells us that he had two followers, viz., Kāśīśvara and Govinda (Ādi x, 138 ; Madhya x, 132-133), who after Īśvara Purī's death come to the city of Puri and became followers of Caitanya. Both Īśvara Purī (as Purī-deva) and Govinda are mentioned in Raghunātha-dāsa's *Caitanyāṣṭaka* and *Stava-kalpataru*. This Govinda has been supposed to be the same as the author of the much discussed Bengali *Kaḍacā* (see Introd. to *Govinda-dāser Kaḍacā* Calcutta 1926, p. 73).

UMĀPATIDHARA

The four verses (nos. 148, 259, 371, 372) quoted from this poet in our Anthology are also found in *SKM* (i, 52, 4 ; i, 55, 3; i, 53, 5; i, 61, 1) under the same name (with one exception, viz. no. 372 which is anonymously cited in *SKM* i, 53, 5). This makes it clear that he is probably identical with the poet of the same name, who flourished in the court of Lakṣmaṇasena and was a contemporary of Jayadeva, Govardhana Ācārya and others. All available information about Umāpatidhara will be found discussed by Aufrecht in *ZDMG* xl, p. 142f and by Pischel in *Die Hofdichter des Lakṣmaṇasena* (Göttingen 1893, pp. 6-17). As there is some controversy over the

exact dates of Lakṣmaṇasena, all that we can say is that our poet flourished in the 12th century A. D., and that the lower limit of his date is given by the quotations in *SKM*, which is dated in 1205 A. D. Two verses are attributed to Umāpatidhara in *ŚP* (nos. 755, 3490); while Jahlaṇa quotes twelve verses with this name in his *Sūkti-muktāvalī* (Bhandarkar, *Report* 1887-91, p. xxiv). The *SKM*, which quotes Umāpatidhara fairly extensively (as well as an Umāpati in i, 11, 3 and i, 11, 4), ascribes to Umāpati (v, 29, 1) a poem entitled *Candra-cūḍa-carita*, composed under a prince named Cāṇakyacandra, whom Pischel conjectures to have been a vassal of Lakṣmaṇasena. Umāpatidhara's name also occurs as the author of the Praśasti in the Deopara Inscription of Vijayasena of the Sena dynasty. The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* of Merutuṅga (ed. Bombay 1888, p. 289) makes Umāpatidhara a minister of Lakṣmaṇasena, while a commentary on the *Gīta-govinda*, cited by Pischel (*op. cit.*, p. 14), makes him a Vaidya (physician) by caste. Jayadeva in his *Gīta-govinda* (i, 4) refers to Umāpatidhara as one of his contemporaries with a not very complimentary allusion to the latter's power of weaving words (*vācaḥ pallavayati*).[1] Our author must be distinguished from the much later Umāpati Upādhyāya of Tirhut, author of *Pārijāta-haraṇa-nāṭaka* (ed. Grierson in *JBORS*, March 1917, vol. iii, pp. 20-98), who flourished under Hariharadeva of Mithila and appears to have been familiar with Jayadeva's lyric poem. As all the verses of Umāpatidhara in our Anthology occurs also in *SKM*, it is probable that Rūpa Gosvāmin took them from this source, which from other indications also appears to have been known to him.

1. Pischel thinks (pp. 14-17) that the phrase *vācaḥ pallavayati* refers to Umāpatidhara's mastery of lexicography and tendencey towards employing recondite words. It might, however, imply verbal bombast or diffuseness and verbosity.

AUTKALA

This is, like Gauḍīya, Dākṣiṇātya and Tairabhukta, a designation signifying that the author belonged to Orissa, rather than a proper name. One of the verses (no. 63) under this attribution, however, is ascribed in three of our Mss to Puruṣottamadeva (q. v.), who in this Anthology is very likely Gajapati Puruṣottamadeva of Orissa. If this attribution is correct, then it is somewhat curious that the author should sometimes be cited by his proper name and sometimes by a descriptive epithet. But this procedure does not appear to be singular in this Anthology, for elsewhere Raghupati of Tirhut (q. v.) seems, on the evidence of the different Mss, to be cited by his proper name as well as by the description Tairbhukta or Tairabhukta-kavi. A similar case appears to be the citation of Śrī-Vaiṣṇava and Dākṣiṇātya (q. v.), both of which designations probably refer to the same person.

KAṄKA

As the two verses (nos. 214, 215), which are old, attributed to this author in our Anthology are differently assigned in different Anthologies, nothing can be ascertained about him. No poet of this name appears to be known ; but a Kaṅkaṇa is cited in *SKM* (1, 71, 1 ; iv, 43, 1) and in *Sbhv* (no. 1085, see Peterson's Introd. p. 14), a Koṅka in *SKM* (ii, 135, 5) and a Kavikaṅkaṇa in Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha's *Sāra-samuccaya* on Mammaṭa's *Kāvya-prakāśa*, as well as in Peterson's *Ulwar Catalogue* (Bombay 1892) as the author of a poem called *Mṛgāṅka-śataka*.

KARṆAPŪRA

This is a title abbreviated from Kavi-karṇapūra rather than a proper name. Although not an unusual title, it is used in Bengal Vaiṣṇava literature almost exclusively with reference to Paramānanda-dāsa-sena, to whom the title is said to have been bestowed by Caitanya himself. The verse (no. 305) may be from some unknown or unpublished poem of his, for his works must have been known to Rūpa Gosvāmin, who is said to have made a copy of Kavi-karṇapūra's *Caitanya-caritāmṛta-kāvya* in Śaka 1467=1545 A.D. Details about Paramānanda-dāsa-sena Kavikarṇapūra will be found in our forthcoming work on the Caitanya Movement. References to Kavikarṇapūra will be found in Kṛṣṇadāsa's *C-C* Ādi x 62 ; Madhya xix 118-23, xxiv 343 ; Antya xii 45-53, xvi 65-76, xx 129. Paramānanda-dāsa-sena Kavikarṇapūra was the youngest son of Śivānanda-sena of the Vaidya caste, an elderly disciple of Caitanya, who used to organise and lead the annual exodus of Caitanya's followers to Puri. He was born at Kācḍāpāḍā (Kāñcanapallī), near Naihati, a few years before Caitanya's death. His precocious literary gifts were probably inherited from his father, some of whose Bengali songs are to be found in the Bengali Vaiṣṇava Anthology, the *Pada-kalpataru*. When he was a boy of seven he is said to have accompanied his father to Puri, where the touch of the Master's feet is said to have inspired the infant prodigy to utter the following Sanskrit verse in the difficult moric (Āryā) metre,[1] which praised Kṛṣṇa as "the ear-ornament (*karṇapūra*) of the Gopīs" and earned for him the title, given by Caitanya himself, of Kavi-karṇapūra, "the ear-ornament of poets":

[1] This verse is given in the author's *Alaṃkāra-kaustubha*, Kiraṇa viii, as an instance of the figure Mālā-rūpaka.

श्रवसोः कुवलयमक्ष्णोरञ्जनमुरसो महेन्द्रमणिदाम ।
वृन्दावनरमणीनां मण्डनमखिलं हरिर्जयति ॥

There is hardly any doubt that the story originated from Karṇapūra's extraordinary precocious poetic gifts; for in his Sanskrit *Caitanya-caritāmṛta-kāvya* (ed. Radharaman Press, Murshidabad 1884), which appears to be his earliest sustained poetical effort, he describes himself as a "child" (*śiśu*). One of its concluding verses gives its date of composition as Śaka 1464=1542 A. D. If we accept, with Rajendralala Mitra (Preface to his ed. of *Caitanya-candrodaya*), 1524 as the date of his birth, then he would be about eighteen when the work was completed, although a Dacca University Ms describes him as *dvyaṣṭābdika* at the time of the composition of this work. As this poetical biography of Caitanya was composed within ten years of Caitanya's passing away, the standard Bengali biographies had not yet been written; but it takes Caitanya as the hero of a religious poem rather than a great historical figure. The work consists of twenty cantos and over 1900 verses in a variety of Sanskrit metres (excepting Āryā), and gives a poetical account of forty-seven years of Caitanya's life. Karṇapūra draws his material chiefly from Murāri Gupta's earlier Sanskrit biography, but he conceives himself more as a poet and devotional writer than as a sober historian, and devotes all his powers on the poetical and devotional possibilities of his theme. His drama, *Caitanya-candrodaya*, on the same subject, is a more mature work, composed in 1579 A.D. at the command of Gajapati Pratāparudra of Orissa. As an historical document it possesses no more value than his earlier poem, but it gives us an interesting glimpse into the atmosphere of Caitanyaism and records its devotional traditions. Karṇapūra's other works are: (i) The *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā* (ed. Radharaman Press, Murshidabad 1912)

which gives an elaborate account of the previous incarnations of Caitanya's disciples as associates of Kṛṣṇa in the Vṛndāvana-līlā, this being an extreme logical development of the Vaiṣṇava theory of incarnation, which regards not only Caitanya as Kṛṣṇa but also his followers a Kṛṣṇa's associates and beloved ones. The majority of MSS give 1576 A.D. as its date of composition. (ii) *Ānanda-vṛndāvana-campū* (ed. Hooghly 1919), a voluminous Campū in Sanskrit prose and verse in 22 Stavakas, on the childhood and youth of Kṛṣṇa. (iii) *Alaṃkāra-kaustubha* (ed. Radharaman Press, Murshidabad 1899 also ed. Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi 1923-1933) which is a regular work on Sanskrit Poetics, of which illustrative verses are mostly in praise of Kṛṣṇa. On this see S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics* i, pp. 257-8. (iv) *Camatkāra-candrikā* (Mitra, *Notices* iv, no. 2150, p. 212; MSS in Dacca University Library), a Kāvya, apparently of the Campū type, consisting of 302 verses with prose, in four parts, describing some aspects of Kṛṣṇa-līlā. This work, however, is sometimes attributed to Viśvanātha Cakravartin, which attribution appears to be more likely.

KAVICANDRA

This being apparently a title rather than a proper name, it is found to belong to several authors, none of whom, however, can be definitely identified with our poet : (1) Kavicandra, author of *Kāvya-candrikā*, a treatise on Alaṃkāra in fifteen chapters (see S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics* i, p. 258-59). He describes himself (Aufrecht, *Bodleian Catalogue*, pp. 211-12 ; Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue*, iii,

p. 344-45) as a physician and the son of Kavikarṇapūra and Kauśalyā, and grandson of Vidyāviśārada and father of Kavibhūṣaṇa and Kavivallabha, belonging to the Datta family of Dīrghāṅka-grāma. He appears to be also the author of a *Cikitsā-ratnāvalī* (Eggeling, *op. cit.* v, pp. 958-59) where the same personal history of the author is given. This compilation of Medicine is dated in Śaka 1583=1661 A.D.; and this date as well as the personal account precludes his identification with our author. His father Karṇapūra also could not have been Paramānanda-sena Kavikarṇapūra. (2) Kavicandra, author of a grammatical work, *Dhātu-sādhana* (Eggeling, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 206-207), which tells us nothing about its author beyond his name or title, but which is dated in Śaka 1411=1489 A.D. (3) Kavicandra Ācārya, author of a Kośa-kāvya, called *Kavicandrodaya*, of which only a gloss exists (Rajendralal Mitra, *Notices* viii, no. 2756). (4) Mahāmahopādhyāya Kavicandra, author of *Manoramā*, a commentary on the *Meghadūta* (Rajendralal Mitra, *Notices* ix, no. 3174). Several Kavicandras, however, are known from Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's *C-C* as contemporaneous followers of Caitanya, viz., (i) Kavicandra, coupled with the name of Ṣaṣṭhīvara (Ādi x, 109; also *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa*, śl. 171) (ii) Vanamālin Kavicandra (Ādi xii, 63) (iii) Yadunātha Kavicandra (Ādi xi 35), who is also referred to in *C-Bh* Madhya i and Antya vi as the son of Ratnagarbha Ācārya. There is also a Kavicandra Indriyānanda who was a relative of Jayānanda, author of the *Caitanya-maṅgala*. It is difficult to say if any one of these Kavicandras was our poet. No Kavicandra is cited in previous Anthologies, but Aufrecht states (*Catalogus Catalogorum* i, 87a) that Kavicandra, "a king praised by Pañcākṣara" is mentioned in *SKM*. The verse is question occurs in *SKM* (ed. Lahore, iii, 50, 4), and runs thus;

अनन्तासौ कीर्तिः कविकुमुदबन्धोः क्षितिपते-
स्त्रिलोकीयं क्षुद्रा तदिह कथमस्याः स्थितिरिति ।
मुधेयं वः शङ्का कलयत कियद्दर्पणतलं
विशाला किं तत्र स्फुरति न करीन्द्रप्रतिकृतिः ॥

Aufrecht translates (*ZDMG* xxxvi, p. 538) *kavi-kumuda-bandhoḥ kṣitipateḥ* as "des Konigs Kavicandra" but he reads in the last line *kavīndra-pratikṛtiḥ* which he translates as "Ebenbild des Dichterfürsten." The natural confusion of v and r in Bengal manuscripts is responsible for this reading, but *karīndra* certainly gives the better sense by bringing out the metaphor intended by the poet of the reflection of a large elephant in a small mirror. The phrase *kavi-kumuda-bandhu* again need not be construed as giving the proper name of Kavicandra, but it may be taken simply as indicating a common metaphor, which speaks of the patron king eulogised as the moon of the poets, alluding to the royal favour enjoyed by his court poets, who are likened to the lotus blowing under the rays of the moon. It is difficult to say whether a pun (*śleṣa*) is at all meant inasmuch as the pun is not worked out in the rest of the stanza.

KAVIRATNA

A poet Kaviratna is cited in *ŚP* no. 1119=*Sbhv* 917 (Kaviratnaka), and also in the *SKM* (iv, 15, 3) and by Jalhaṇa (Bhandarkar, *Report* 1887-91, p. xxiv). Identification is difficult as this is apparently a title.

KAVIŚEKHARA

This is an honorific title which is found adopted by several poets, e.g. Jyotirīśvara and Vidyāpati of Mithila and by the Vaidya author of a *Haravilāsa Kāvya* (Eggeling, *op. cit.*, vii, p. 1450), who describes himself as the son of Yaśaścandra. A poet Kaviśekhara is quoted in *Kavīndra-candrodaya* (Mitra, *Notices* ii, no. 815, p. 217). There is also Sañjaya-Kaviśekhara cited in our Anthology, of whom also nothing is known. No person with this name and title is known among the contemporaries and disciples of Caitanya. A Śekhara-Paṇḍita is mentioned in *C-C*, Ādi x, 109. The Bengali Pad-kartṛ Rāyaśekhara or Kaviśekhara must have been a later writer.

KAVISĀRVABHAUMA

The poet with this title appears to be distinguished in all our Mss (except one) from Sārvabhauma-bhaṭṭācārya (q. v) who is apparently Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma-bhaṭṭācārya. A *Smṛti-rañjanī* Kāvya is ascribed to a Kavi-sārvabhauma in Rice's *Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in Mysore and Coorg* (Bangalore 1884), but no further information is available. Several Sārvabhaumas are mentioned by Aufrecht i, p. 215a. A poet Sārvabhauma is quoted in *ŚP* nos. 62, 64, 1260 ; in one of these verses (no. 1260) a prince named Anaṅgabhīma is mentioned. A poet Sārvabhauma is also quoted in *Sbhv* no. 1478. But these are probably different persons, our poet Sārvabhauma being apparently a devout Vaiṣṇava writer on the divine childhood of Kṛṣṇa. See Pischel, *op. cit.*, p. 36f.

A25.

KUMĀRA

A Bhaṭṭa Kumāra is quoted in *Sbhv* (nos. 1614, 2096, 2161, 2165; not traceable in *Jānakī-haraṇa*), as well as Kumāradatta and the more well known Kumāradāsa [1]; also in *ŚP* no. 3691 (Kumārabhaṭṭa), nos. 3344, 3356, 3554, 3897 (Kumāradāsa, two verses traceable in *Jānakī-haraṇa*); but these are probably much older poets. The father of Rūpa and Sanātana was also called Kumāra-Deva. Thomas (*op. cit.* p. 34-35), however, would assign the verse no. 318 of Kumāra cited in our Anthology to Kumāradāsa, author of the *Jānakī-haraṇa*.

KEŚAVACCHATRIN

We find this name mentioned in connexion with Caitanya's visit to Gauḍa and Rāmakeli (*C-C*, Madhya i, 171-73; *Bhakti ratnākara*, i). He appears to have been a Chatrin who, like Rūpa and Sanātana, held some official rank at the Muhammadan court in Gauḍa. He is called Keśava Khān in *C-Bh* (Antya, iv). When Caitanya's advent into the city created a sensation, Keśava explained away the Sultan's apprehensions and privately warned Caitanya to leave for Rāmakeli, where he received the Master's favour and became his disciple. He has been mentioned as Keśava Vasu in Kavikarṇapūra's *Caitanya-*

[1] As some of the verses of these two can be traced in *Jānakī haraṇa* (see Thomas *op. cit.*, p. 35), they are thus confused in the *Sbhv*. Only one verse from Kumāradāsa is cited in *SKM* ii, 74, 4, which occurs as *Jānakī-haraṇa* vii, 7.

candrodaya and in Premadāsa's Bengali translation of the same, entitled *Caitanya-candrodaya-kaumudī.*

KEŚAVA-BHAṬṬĀCĀRYA or KEŚAVĀCĀRYA

Although a poet Keśava is cited in *SKM* (i, 39, 3), and there is a large number of Keśava Bhaṭṭas known in Sanskrit literature, this Keśava-Bhaṭṭācārya or Keśavācārya may be the same as the Vaiṣṇava author of *Krama-dīpikā*, a religious work on Kṛṣṇa-worship, which is cited by Rūpa Gosvāmin in *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi*, p. 349.

KṢEMENDRA

The verse (no. 354) cited from the Kashmirian polygrapher Kṣemendra is also quoted under his name in *ŚP*. It is quoted by Kṣemendra himself from his own *Padya-kādambarī* in his *Kavi-kaṇṭkābharaṇa* iii, *ad* 2. For informations regarding Kṣemendra and his works, see S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics* i, pp. 139-43 and references cited therein.

GOPĀLA-BHAṬṬA

The verse (no. 38) cited is not traceable in any of the existing works of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Further details about Gopāla Bhaṭṭa will be found in our

forthcoming work on Caitanyaism and the Caitanya Movement. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa was an immediate disciple of Caitanya and was one of the six Gosvāmins or acknowledged teachers of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism. He was not a native of Bengal but came from Southern India. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja must have known him quite well at Vṛndāvana, but he records practically nothing about this Gosvāmin. Narahari Cakravartin, who explains this extraordinary silence as due to an express prohibition by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa himself, undertakes to remedy this deficiency in his *Bhakti-ratnākara* which was written about the first half of the 18th century. The tradition recorded by Narahari states that Gopāla was the son of a learned Brahman of Southern India named Veṅkaṭa Bhaṭṭa. Veṅkaṭa had a brother whose Sannyāsa name, Prabodhānanda Sarasvatī, indicates that he was an accomplished scholar in Sanskrit. In one of the opening verses of *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* Gopāla tells us that he was a pupil of Prabodhānanda, although there is no reference in this passage to the relationship. Prabodhānanda is described here as dear to Caitanya, and this predilection to Caitanya and Caitanyaism is also indicated by Prabodhānanda's Sanskrit Stotra, *Caitanya-candrāmṛta* (ed. Radharaman Press, Murshidabad 1927) and his *Vṛndāvana-śataka* (ed. Haeberlin's *Kāvya-saṁgraha*), which last work opens with a Namaskriyā to Caitanya. Narahari also speaks of a tradition which identifies Gopāla's father Veṅkaṭa with the Veṅkaṭa Bhaṭṭa who invited Caitanya to his house near Srirangam on the Kaveri during Caitanya's South Indian pilgrimage. But in Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's account (*C-C,* Madhya ix) of Caitanya's stay at Veṅkaṭa's house for four months, there is no mention of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa ; and there is no definite data for the proposed identification. Narahari himself alludes to the doubtfulness of the tradition, and as the

account is missing in the other biographies of Caitanya, its trustworthiness has not been proved. The identification of this Veṅkata Bhaṭṭa with Veṅkaṭanātha of Velaguṇḍi, whom Dharmarāja mentions as his Guru in his *Vedānta-paribhāṣā*, is also without any foundation; nor can Prabodhānanda be identified with the Vedantic scholar Prakāśānanda whom Caitanya met at Benares. Exactly how and when Gopāla was admitted into discipleship is uncertain, but it is probable that he came to Caitanya during the years of Caitanya's permanent residence at Puri, and at his direction went to join Rūpa and Sanātana at Vṛndāvana. He lived in this holy city of Kṛṣṇa a celebate life of laborious scholarship and great piety till his death, the date of which is traditionally given as Śaka 1500=1578 A. D. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa appears to have composed a Sanskrit commentary, entitled *Kṛṣṇa-vallabhā* on Bilvamaṅgala's *Śrī-kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta*, which lyric was one of the sources of the devotional ideas of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism. But his most important and laborious work is his *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*. This work, however, is ascribed to Sanātana by Jīva Gosvāmin and Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, and Narahari tells us that it was actually composed by Sanātana in Gopāla's name. These testimonies cannot be lightly set aside, but in the work itself there is no reference to Sanātana's authorship. The second opening verse, on the other hand, distinctly states that Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, a pupil of Prabodhānanda, was compiling the work for the satisfaction of the three Gosvāmins Rūpa, Sanātana and Raghunātha-Dāsa. That Sanātana had, besides writing the commentary which is traditionally ascribed to him, a direct connexion with the work, is indeed highly probable; at the same time Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's authorship of the text, expressly stated in it, cannot be easily dismissed. The *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, consisting of twenty chapters (called Vilāsas) is a huge and almost exhaustive metrical

compendium of the entire Vaiṣṇava ritual, and of the corpus of the devotional practices of the cult. It aims to cover all the compulsory and occasional rites and ceremonies, the rules of everyday service, as well as the ritual of temples and higher phases of worship, and gives elaborate directions for the various festivals connected with Kṛṣṇa-worship. It is, in brief, a complete guide to Vaidhī Bhakti, in which devotional acts proceed from Śāstric injunction. It is a work of great and patient erudition, and each rule is supported and illustrated by copious quotations from the Purāṇas, Tantras and other scriptures.

GOVARDHANĀCĀRYA

Three of the verses cited from this author (nos. 190, 242, 303) are to be found in the *Āryā-saptaśatī*, a fact which leaves no doubt that he was the Ācārya Govardhana who is referred to by Jayadeva in his *Gīta-govinda* (i, 4) as one of his poetical contemporaries, who had no rival in the composition of excellent erotic verses (*śṛṅgārottara-sat-prameya-racanaiḥ*). This tribute is borne out by his *Āryā-saptaśatī*, which consists of seven hundred verses in the Āryā metre, most of them having a predominantly erotic theme. The fourth verse in our Anthology (no. 374) quoted with the name of this poet in all our Mss is not found in the above work, nor is it in the Āryā metre. It is, however, doubtful if it is at all a verse of Govardhana's, as *SKM*, which was a contemporary anthology, gives this verse (i, 58, 4) anonymously as *kasyacit*.[1]

[1] *SKM*, however, assigns a verse (ii, 8, 3) in Vasantatilaka metre to one Govardhana.

In verse 38 of the *Āryā-saptaśatī* Govardhana speaks of his learned father Nīlāmbara, who probably composed a compendium of Dharma-śāstra (*yasyāste dharma-karma saṅkucitam*); in verse 39 he refers to a king of the Sena dynasty (*sena-kula-tilaka-bhūpati*), who is supposed to be Lakṣmaṇasena; and in verse 701 he mentions Udayana and Balabhadra, brothers and pupils, who helped him in editing and publishing the work (*prakāśitā nirmalīkṛtya*). There are two editions of the *Āryā-saptaśatī* known to us: (i) by Somanātha Śarmā, Dacca, Saṃvat 1921 in Bengali character and (ii) in Kāvyamālā 1, Bombay 1895. The texts do not agree. We have given our references to both these editions.

It is also noteworthy that Rūpa Gosvāmin in quoting two of Govardhana's verses (no. 190 and 303) has made significant changes in the text to suit his own context. In no. 190 he has altered *rāmā* into *rādhā*; and in no. 303 *tadavadhi pallīpateḥ putrī* into *tadavadhi candrāvalī jātā*, in the last case very generously altering almost the whole text. The object is obvious; it is to *vaiṣṇavise* an originally non-vaiṣṇava verse. There are also other examples of this deliberate method in this Anthology, e.g. in no. 6 the words *daivāya tasmai namaḥ* of an ancient non-vaiṣṇava verse are changed into *kṛṣṇāya tasmai namaḥ*; in no. 219 the word *sundara* of a verse from Viśvanātha's *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* is changed into *mādhava*; in no. 19 the phrase *rāma-nāma* of a verse from the *Mahānāṭaka* becomes *kṛṣṇa-nāma*; in no. 284 an old verse relating to Śauri and Lakṣmī is deliberately changed in its wordings to suit Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā; in no. 281 the words Lakṣmī and Lakṣmīdhara are similarly altered to Rādhā and Cakrapāṇi; these last three cases being extreme examples of making even Vaiṣṇava verses entirely Kṛṣṇaite. Other examples:

no. 187, *subhaga* changed into *murahara* in an old verse cited in *SP*; no. 302, *kānta* changed into *kṛṣṇa* in an old verse sometimes attributed to Amaru; no. 313, in a verse from Rudra's *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka*, *kānte gate* is changed into *kṛṣṇe gate*; no. 356, *hṛdi te kṛpālo* (meaning an ordinary Nāyaka) changed into *hṛdi te murāre*, and *bālā* in the next line changed into *rādhā*; no. 360, *tasyāḥ sakhīnām* becomes *rādhā-sakhīnām*; no. 362, *siṃhala-pateḥ* of an old verse is turned *keśava ciram*; the last two lines of no. 377, which occurs in *Sbhv* (as an address from a Nāyikā to her Nāyaka), are changed deliberately so as to apply to Kṛṣṇa addressing Sudāman. In a verse (no. 29) from Lakṣmīdhara's *Bhagavan-nāma-kaumudī*, the original phrase *śrī-rāma-nāmātmaka* is changed into *śrī-kṛṣṇa-nāmātmaka*, but some of our good Mss appear to prefer the original reading. We need not cite more examples, for these will be enough to show that not only verses from writers like Amaru, Bhavabhūti, Kṣemendra, Rudra or Govardhana, who are non-vaiṣṇava writers, are selected and arranged in a Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa context, but some of the old verses have been deliberately and unscrupulously altered in their phrasing to suit the object of the devout compiler.

Further informations about Govardhana and his works will be found in the learned work of Pischel on the court-poets of Lakṣmaṇa-sena cited above, pp. 30-33.

GOVINDA, GOVINDA-BHAṬṬA, GOVINDA-MIŚRA

The name Govinda, as well as the titles Bhaṭṭa and Miśra being not at all unusual (see Aufrecht *Catalogus* i, pp. 166-168, p. 783; ii, pp. 33-34, 198; iii, p. 36), identification is impossible without further details. Several

Govindas are known as contemporaries and followers of Caitanya : (1) Govinda, follower of Īśvara Purī (q.v.), who came to Caitanya at Puri after Īśvara Purī's death (*C-C* Ādi x, 138), whose service is mentioned in Raghunātha-dāsa's *Caitanyāṣṭaka*, *śl.* 2 and *Gaurāṅga-stava-kalpataru* (*śl.* 10) and who may or may not have been identical with (2) Govinda Karmakāra, the personal servant of Caitanya, to whom the *Kaḍacā* is ascribed, (3) Govinda Kavirāja (*C-C* Ādi xi, 51), who is probably different from the later Padakartṛ Govinda Kavirāja, the author of *Saṅgīta-mādhava* and *Gītāmṛta* (*Bhakti-ratnākara* ix) and disciple of Śrīnivāsa Ācārya. (4) Govinda Gosvāmin (*C-C* Ādi viii, 66 ; Madhya xviii, 50), a disciple of Kāśīśvara Gosvāmin at Vṛndāvana, (5) Govinda-Ghoṣa (*C-C* Ādi x, 115, 118 ; Madhya, xi, 88 ; xiii, 42, 73, xvi, 16 ; *C-Bh* Antya, v ; *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa*, *śl.* 188), a Kāyastha, whose skill in Kīrtana is recorded, (6) Govinda-Datta (*C-C* Ādi x, 64 ; Madhya xiii, 37), also a Kīrtanīyā. A Govindānanda (*C-C* Ādi x, 64 ; Madhya xiii, 37), also a Kīrtanīyā, and some other Govindas with different titles or patronymic are known from later Bengal Vaiṣṇava works (e.g. *Bhakti-ratnākara* vi ; *Prema-vilāsa* xx).[1] A Govinda Ācārya is mentioned as a writer of Bengali songs (Padakartṛ) in Devakīnandana's *Vaiṣṇava-vandanā*. In all, about thirteen Govindas are found by Jagadbhandhu Bhadra (*op. cit.* p. 28) in Bengal Vaiṣṇava literature, early and late. But identification with none of these Govindas appears plausible.

[1] For Bengali song-writers bearing this name, see Satish Chandra Ray, Introd. to his edition of *Padakalpataru*, pt. v (Calcutta 1931), pp. 55f ; also Jagadbandhu Bhadra in the work cited.

CAKRAPĀṆI

This poet is quoted once in *KVS* (no. 405) and four times in *SKM* (i, 6, 2 ; i, 44, 4 ; i, 54, 4 ; v, 3, 2 ; see Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 27), but the verse quoted in our anthology (no. 282) occurs anonymously in *SKM* i, 56, 3. As an apparently older author he should therefore be distinguished from Cakrapāṇi of Śrīkhaṇḍa mentioned in *Rasa-kalpavallī* of Rāmagopāla-dāsa.

CIRAÑJĪVA

He is probably the Ciranjīva of Śrīkhaṇḍa (Dt. Burdwan) who is mentioned in *C-C* (Ādi x, 78, 119 and Madhya xi, 92) among the immediate disciples of Caitanya. He appears to be the same as Ciranjīva mentioned in *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa*, *śl.* 207. Jagadbhandhu Bhadra (*Gaura-pada-taraṅgiṇī*, introd. pp. 63-65) and Satish Chandra Ray (*op. cit.*, pp. 61-62) are probably right in identifying him with Ciranjīva-sena of Tiliyā-Budhuri (mentioned in *Prema-vilāsa* and *Bhakti-ratnākara*), father of the famous Padakartṛ Govinda-dāsa (or Govinda-kavirāja). Besides Govinda, he had another son Rāmacandra, who probably adopted the caste-profession of a physician (Vaidya), while his wife's name was Sunandā, daughter of Dāmodara-sena of Kumāra-nagara. He must be distinguished from the well known Ciranjīva (or rather Rāmadeva Ciranjīva) Bhaṭṭācārya, who belonged to the 18th century (see S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics* i, p. 294).

JAGADĀNANDA-RĀYA

Two Jagadānandas are well known in Bengal Vaiṣṇava literature: (1) Jagadānanda Paṇḍita (patronymic or title not known), mentioned as a direct disciple and constant companion of Caitanya at Puri and elsewhere (*C-C* Ādi x, 21-23 etc; *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa śl.* 51; *C-Bh* Antya, xii, xiii), who was probably a native of Navadvīpa and one of the four followers who accompained Caitanya in his journey to Puri after Sannyāsa, and (2) Jagadānanda-Ṭhākura, son of Nityānanda-Ṭhākura, probably of the Vaidya caste, and well known as a composer of Bengali Padas (see Jagadbandhu Bhadra, *op. cit.*, pp. 88f; Satish Chandra Ray, *op. cit.*, pp. 116f). But he probably belonged to the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th century. More than one Bengali Padakartṛ with the name of Jagadānanda are known, but the earliest of them cannot be placed earlier than 17th century. With none of these Jagadānandas can our Jagadānanda be plausibly identified, nor with any other Jagadānandas known in earlier literature and mentioned by Aufrecht. The following note has been furnished by our friend Mr. Sukumar Sen of Calcutta University: "In the *Kula-granthas* it is mentioned that Jagadānanda-Rāya and Subuddhi-Rāya were nephews of Kaṃsanārāyaṇa. I should refer to the Calcutta University Catalogue of Bengali Manuscripts, vol. I, p. xf. Caitanyadeva had a follower named Jagadānanda, but he was a Mukhopādhyāya Brahmin and was a resident of the village Āṭhisārā, identified with Balāgarh near Triveṇī."

JAGANNĀTHA-SENA

Several Jagannāthas are known as contemporaries and immediate disciples of Caitanya, but none of them appears

to have the patronymic Sena of the Vaidya caste : e.g. (1) Jagannātha-Ācārya (*C-C* Ādi x, 108 ; *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa śl.* 111), apparently a Brahman, who lived at the direction of Caitanya on the banks of the Ganges, (2) Jagannātha-Dāsa (*C-C* Ādi x, 112), (3) Jagannātha-Tīrtha (*C-C* Ādi x, 114 ; *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa, śl.* 100), a Sannyāsin of the Tīrtha order, (4) Jagannātha (*C-C* Ādi xi, 48), a disciple of Nityānanda, (5) Jagannātha-Kara (*C-C* Ādi xii, 60), (6) Kāṣṭhakāṭā Jagannātha-Dāsa (*C-C* Ādi xii, 83) i.e. Jagannātha of the village Kāṣṭhakāṭā in Dacca-Vikrampur, (7) Jagannātha Cakravartin, known as Māmu (uncle in Oriya) Ṭhākur (*C-C* Ādi xii, 80 ; *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa śl.* 205), who became the Sevait of Ṭoṭā Gopīnātha at Purī after Gadādhara Paṇḍita, (8) Jagannātha-Māhānti at Purī (*C-C* Madhya xv, 19 and 29) (9) Jagannātha (better known as Jagāi) a Brahman who was converted by Nityānanda (*C-C* Ādi x, 120 etc ; also *C-Bh*, xiii-xv ; *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa śl.* 115). One Jagannātha-Sena, however, is mentioned among the Gaṇas of Caitanya in *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa, śl.* 200. The only Jagannātha-sena known so far in Sanskrit literature is a commentator of the same name on the *Chandomañjarī* of Gaṅgādāsa, who was also a Vaidya and Vaiṣṇava. This Jagannātha describes himself as the son of Kavirāja Jaṭādhara and Devakī and as a Kavirāja (apparently a medical title) who worshipped Hari. A Ms of his work is noticed by Eggeling, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 306. It is noteworthy that Rūpa Gosvāmin knew Gaṅgādāsa's *Chandomañjarī* and quotes two verses from it in his *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi* (pp. 252, 268).

JĪVADĀSA-VĀHINĪPATI and VĀHINĪPATI

A poet Vaidya-Jīvadāsa is quoted in *SKM* (i, 80, 5), but no author having the name Jīvadāsa-vāhinīpati is so

far known. The term Vāhinīpati is apparently an honorific title. A poet Vāhinīpati is quothd in *Sbhv* 1954 ; a Vāhinīpati appears as a commentator on *Somapañcaka* (Hultz, *Report* i, nos. 161, 641) and as author of a *Prāyaścitta-dipikā* (*ibid*, no. 171). Kavikarṇapūra's *Caitanya-candrodoya* introduces a son of Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, named Candaneśvara or Caṇḍeśvara, whom Gopinatha Kaviraja (*Sarasvatī-Bhavana Studies* IV, pp. 69-70) identifies with Jajñeśvara Vāhinīpati who is said to have written a commentary on the *Tattva-cintāmaṇyāloka* (Śabda-khaṇḍa). A copy of this commentry is said to exist in the Sanskrit College, Benares ; Aufrecht (i, 569a) enters the name of its author as Vāhinīpati Mahāpātra Bhaṭṭācārya, which however indicates his titles and not his proper name. The verse ascribed to the poet Vāhinīpati in our anthology (no. 317) however, is claimed by Viśvanātha to be his own in his *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* on vi, 315a, *yathā mama* (ed. Durgaprasad, Bombay 1915).

TAIRABHUKTA or TAIRABHUKTA-KAVI

The designation signifies a native or a poet of Tirabhukti or Tirhut, by which is most probably meant here Raghupati Upādhyāya (q.v). Of this Vaiṣṇava scholar and Brahman devotee, who is in *C-C* characterised as *tirohitā paṇḍita* (a scholar of Tirhut), we have already spoken above in our Introduction. Raghupati's meeting with Caitanya at Prayāga or Allahabad is described by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja in *C-C* (Madhya xix, 92-105). Raghupati is depicted as reading, at Caitanya's request, his own verses which are given in our Anthology as nos. 126,

98, 82. The *Narottama-vilāsa* represents Raghupati as having been still alive and present at the Kheturi festival (at about 1575 A.D.?), but this would give him an incredibly long life. He appears to have been a Maithila Brahman with the surname Upādhyāya, and could not have been a Vaidya, as Jayānanda (p. 148) states. The Vedānta work, entitled *Puruṣārtha-kaumudī*, noticed by Rajendra Lala Mitra (*Notices* vii, no. 2377, pp. 143-4), may be by our Raghupati. The manuscript was found in the district of Purnea and is in Maithili character ; the opening verse gives Raghupati Śarman as the author, while the colophon describes him as Mahopādhyāya-śrī-raghupati.

It is remarkable that the verses assigned to Raghupati Upādhyāya in our Anthology are all to be found in the earlier part of the text (i.e. between verses 82 and 301), while those ascribed to Tairabhukta or Tairabhukta-kavi come uniformly in the latter part (i.e. between verses 306 and 339). Of the five verses given with the latter designation in our text, two of our manuscripts PB and VSPB assign nos. 316, 338 and 339 to Raghupati Upādhyāya or Tairabhukta Raghupati Upādhyāya. While neither of these manuscripts can be regarded as old or reliable enough to be conclusive, this circumstance raises a presumption of the identity of the name and the designation ; for it is scarcely believable that the scribes of these two manuscripts were so intelligent as to make this significant descriptive addition on their own account, unless they were following or were aware of some such tradition.

TRIVIKRAMA

The verse (no. 353) cited with the name of Trivikrama occurs in *Nala-campū* or *Damayantī-kathā* of Trivikrama

Bhaṭṭa (ed. Nirnay Sagar Press, Bombay 1903, vi 23), son of Nemāditya or Devāditya and grandson of Śrīdhara, of the Śāṇḍilya-gotra. Verses of Trivikrama, which are also found in the aforesaid romance, are also cited in the *Sbhv* no. 134 (=*ŚP* no. 159=*Nala campū* i, 5), 135 (=*ŚP* 191=i, 6), 147 (=*ŚP* 142=i, 4), 2001 (=vii, 31), 2002 (=*ŚP* 3641=vii, 28); and in *ŚP* (besides those already referred to) no. 136 (=iii, 7), 162 (=i, 23) 3309 (=iii, 32), 3448 (=v, 21), 3459 (=viii, 49), 3530 (=vii, 37) and 3865 (=i, 40). The Bhāgavata Trivikrama, quoted also in *Sbhv* (866 and 1029), as well as the Vaidya Trivikrama quoted in *SKM* (iv, 53, 3), are different persons. As the verses *parvatabhedi pavitram* from *Nala-campū* (iv, 29) is quoted in Bhoja's *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* (on iv, 36), Trivikrama must be earlier than Bhoja (11th century).[1]

DAŚARATHA

A poet Daśaratha is quoted in the *SKM* (iv, 7, 1; v, 68, 1; v, 71, 3).

DĀKṢINĀTYA

This is of course a descriptive title meaning Southerner, rather than a name. It is curious, however, that one of our oldest manuscripts, supported by three others and the printed text, assigns no. 52 of our text (which other manuscripts ascribe to Dākṣiṇātya) to Śrīvaiṣṇava, which is equally a descriptive title, indicating that the author belonged to the Śrīvaiṣṇava sect of the south; while five other manuscripts attribute this verse to Dākṣiṇātya

[1] Kielhorn (*Ep. Ind.* i, p. 340) identifies this Trivikrama with Trivikrama Cakravartin mentioned in a Patna inscription and takes him to have flourished about 1000 A.D.

Śrīvaiṣṇava. The verse is thus indiscriminately ascribed to Dākṣiṇātya and Śrīvaiṣṇava, the scribes apparently following some tradition which took the two epithets, by which several verses are cited in our anthology, as applying to one and the same person. It is difficult to say who this Dākṣiṇātya or Śrīvaiṣṇava was. A Dākṣiṇātya or southern poet is cited in *SKM* (i, 68, 5 ; iii, 42, 5) but no Śrīvaiṣṇava. The verse nos. 335, 377, 384 which are respectively cited under the names of Haribhaṭṭa, Hari and anonymously in our anthology are assigned in *Sbhv* nos. 1355, 1049, 84 to *Dākṣiṇātyasya kasyāpi*. Is it possible that the epithet Dākṣiṇātya, as well as Śrīvaiṣṇava, in our anthology applies to Gopāla Bhaṭṭa (q. v.), one of the six Gosvāmins ? Tradition alleges that Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's father (and probably he himself originally) belonged to the Śrīvaiṣṇava sect. Jīva Gosvāmin also refers to Gopāla Bhaṭṭa in the opening verses of his first four *Sandarbhas* as the "Dakṣiṇātya Bhaṭṭa". Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, however, is cited by name in our anthology.

DĀMODARA

There are several Dāmodaras known to us as contemporaries and disciples of Caitanya : (1) the well known Svarūpa Dāmodara of whom we have spoken in our Introduction, (2) Dāmodara-Dāsa (*C-C* Ādi, xi, 52), (3) Dāmodara-Paṇḍita, distinguished from Svarūpa Dāmodara in *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa* (*śl.* 159-60) and *C-C* (Ādi x, 31-32, 125-126 etc. ; *C-Bh* Antya, ix, x) ; the two are confused by Jagadbandhu Bhadra (p. 50) and other writers. (4) Dāmodara-Sena, grandfather of Govinda Kavirāja and author of *Saṅgīta-dāmodara*. A poet Dāmodara is quoted in *SKM* (iv, 33, 1 ; v, 48, 1). But Dāmodara is not a rare name (e. g. *KVS* 411 ; Kapila Dāmodara in *Sbhv*

2528 ; Dāmodara-deva in *ŚP* 4100, 4109, 4116) ; and it is useless to speculate on his identity when the only verse (no. 302) assigned to him in our anthology is a fairly old one, sometimes found in the *Amaru-śataka*, differently assigned in *SKM* (ii, 140, 5, *Keśaṭasya*) and occurring anonymously in a series of Alaṃkāra works.

DIVĀKARA

Must be the same as Divākara-datta cited in *SKM* (i, 51, 4) to whom the same verse (no. 135) is assigned in our anthology. A Yuvarāja-Divākara is also cited in *SKM* ii, 31, 4.

DĪPAKA

Must be the same Dīpaka as cited in *ŚP* 74 (=our no. 139), 3751, 4039 ; in *Sbhv* 1250, 1251 ; in Kṣemendra's *Aucitya-vicāra* (on *śl*. 29) and *Suvṛtta-tilaka* (on ii, 29) ; and by Jahlaṇa.

DHANAÑJAYA

Some manuscripts give him the patronymic *Sena*. If this is correct then he should be distinguished from the earlier Dhanañjayas, cited in *SKM* iii, 43, 3, or quoted in *Gaṇaratna-mahodadhi* (on 97, 409, 435) and mentioned in the *Hārāvalī* (Peterson, *Report* II, p. 59). A Dhanañjaya A27.

was the father of Halāyudha, the reputed author of *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva* and minister of Lakṣmaṇa-sena of Bengal; while a much earlier and more well known Dhanañjaya, son of Viṣṇu, was the author of the *Daśa-rūpaka*. There is only one Dhanañjaya Paṇḍita known among the followers of Caitanya, and he is described as a pious servant of Nityānanda (*C-C*, Ādi xi, 31; *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa śl.* 127; *C-Bh*, Antya vi), who lived at Śītalagrāma near Katwa.

DHANYA

A Vaidya-Dhanya is quoted in *KVS* 401, which verse is also given under the same name in *SKM* ii, 45, 1.

NĀTHOKA

The verse no. 261 cited with this name occurs in *SKM* i, 57, 5 with the name Keśarakolīya-Nāthoka. Aufrecht i, p. 127 reads the name as Keśavakoṇīya-Nāthoka, which form is probably due to the confusion in old Bengali manuscripts between व and र, and between ल and न.

NĪLA

Nīla's verse (no. 375) also occurs in *SKM* i, 62, 1 (ed. Bibl. Ind. p. 79), but there it is not assigned to any poet. The editor of the Lahore edition however, informs us

(Introd. p. 67) that the Serampore Ms of *SKM* gives the name as Nīla, while Thomas (*KVS*, Introd. p. 51) also enters this verse of *SKM* under Nīla. The poet Nīla is quoted independently in *SKM* (iii, 39, 2; iv, 15, 2; v, 49, 3), while a verse of Nīla is cited in *KVS* 58.

PAÑCATANTRA-KṚT

The verse no. 376 which is assigned to this anonymous author does not occur in any of the Indian versions of the *Pañcatantra*, but it is probably taken directly by our compiler from *SKM* (i, 62, 4) where it is similarly assigned.

PURUṢOTTAMA-DEVA

As some of our Mss give the full name of this author as Gajapati Puruṣottama-deva (see under no. 156—7 Mss; no. 161—3 Mss; no. 224—one Ms), it is likely that he is to be distinguished from earlier Puruṣottama-devas, including the poet of the same name cited in *SKM* (ii, 172, 4; iii, 43, 1; v, 75, 3; not identical with those given in our anthology) and in *KVS* 39 (=*SKM* i, 48, 3). This is quite probable from the fact that Gajapati Puruṣottama-deva was the father of Gajapati Pratāparudra, ruler of Orissa (about 1497-1539 A.D.), whom we have already mentioned in connexion with Caitanya's career at Puri. Puruṣottama-deva was the son of Kapilendra-deva, the founder of the Gajapati dynasty of Orissa, and probably ruled from 1490-1497 A.D., his father having

died about 1490 A.D. Haraprasad Shastri (*Report* 1895-1900, p. 18) mentions a work by Gajapati Puruṣottama of Orissa, entitled *Abhinava-gītagovinda*. For informations about these rulers of Orissa, see *Ind. Ant.*, 1929, pp. 28-33 ; *Epigr. Ind.*, xiii, p. 155 ; *JASB* lxii, pt. 1, p. 88-104 ; *JBORS* v, pp. 147-48 and Kane's *History of Dharma-śāstra* (Poona 1930), pp. 410-414. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja tells us that Puruṣottama-deva was a devout Vaiṣṇava (*C-C*, Madhya v, 120-124).

The only Puruṣottama known as a contemporary of Caitanya is Svarūpa Dāmodara, a disciple and companion of Caitanya, who had the name of Puruṣottama Ācārya before he became a Sannyāsin (*C-C*, Madhya x, 103-104), but it is not probable that he would be cited by his Gṛhasthāśrama name by Rūpa Gosvāmin. There was a Vaiṣṇava Padakartṛ of the name of Puruṣottama-gupta.

(ŚRĪMAT-) PRABHU

This honorific designation probably refers to Sanātana Gosvāmin ; and one of our Mss as well as the commentary assigns the only verse quoted (no. 233) with this title to Sanātana Gosvāmin. In his *Saṃkṣepa-bhāgavatāmṛta* (i, 4) Rūpa Gosvāmin actually refers to Sanātana as *Śrīmat-Prabhu* ; while in an obviously punning line of the opening verse of his *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi* the Namaskriyā says : *sanātanātmā prabhur jayati*. Explaining this last phrase Jīva Gosvāmin says : *śrīman-nija-daivatam api śrīmantaṃ nija-gurum api tantreṇa stuvayan prārthayate......sanātano nitya ātmā śri-vigraho yasya saḥ......tathā sanātano nāma ātmā*

vigraho yasya sa prabhur iti. In one of the opening verses again of his *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* Rūpa speaks of Sanātana as *mad-īśa* (=*mat-prabhu*). See Pischel *op. cit.*, p. 10, who is in favour of this identification.

BĀṆA

It is curious that a large number of verses, not traceable in Bāṇa's two well known romances, are cited (see Thomas, *op cit.* pp. 55-59) in the different anthologies ; but some of them possibly belong to Abhinava Bāṇas of later times. It is, however, probable that, apart from *Caṇḍīśataka* (ed. Kāvyamālā, pt. iv, Bombay 1899), Bāṇa might have composed some other poetical works which are now lost. Kṣemendra, for instance, quotes several verses from *Kādambarī* with Bāṇa's name, but on śl. 14 of his *Aucitya-vicāra*, he cites a verse[1] from Bāṇa which is not traceable in any of Bāṇa's known works and which is similarly assigned in *Sbhv* 1087. The verse no. 362 of our anthology which appears with Bāṇa's name is, however, assigned to Kuntalapati by Jahlaṇa, as reported by Bhandarkar, or to Siṃhalapati, as in the Gaekwad edition of Jahlaṇa's text.

THE BHAGAVAT

The reference is of course to Caitanya. The eight verses which are assigned here are also represented by

1 Unless it is a case of wrong attribution, the fact that this verse occurs in the uncertain text of the *Amaru-śataka* is of little value. Kṣemendra himself wrote a metrical version of Bāṇa's romance and called it *Padya-Kādambarī*.

Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja in the last chapter of his biography as having been uttered and explained by Caitanya himself, and they are named *Śikṣāṣṭaka* (*C-C*, Antya xx, 64-65). Kṛṣṇadāsa states :

पूर्वे अष्ट श्लोक करि लोके शिक्षा दिला ।
सेइ अष्ट श्लोक आपने आस्वादिला ॥

Caitanya is made to recite and explain these verses to Svarūpa and Rāmānanda at Puri ; but the word *pūrve* in the statement quoted above perhaps suggests that the verses were probably composed by him long before this. This supposition would explain the somewhat curious fact that the *Padyāvalī*, unlike most other works of Rūpa Gosvāmin, does not contain any Namaskriyā to Caitanya, but that it contains these verses assigned to Śrī-bhagavat. We have already discussed the probability of this anthology being an early compilation, which Rūpa Gosvāmin might have completed before he left Rāmakeli to become a professed follower of Caitanya. If this surmise is correct, then it is likely that these verses, which Caitanya probably composed in his younger days at Navadvīpa, were naturally included by Rūpa in his collection of Vaiṣṇava verses. The honorific epithet Śrī-bhagavat is not inconsistent with this conjecture ; for the glorification, or even deification, of Caitanya must have already begun at Navadvīpa and created the mass of miraculous Navadvīpa legends which Vṛndāvana-dāsa collects in his biography. We are also told by the *Bhakti-ratnākara* that Rūpa was already predisposed towards Caitanya and Vaiṣṇavism before he became an actual convert to Caitanyaism, and that he was even in this early period already in touch with Navadvīpa. If this surmise about the inclusion of Caitanya's verses

in an anthology (which, even though compiled by one of his closest disciples, contains no Namaskriyā) be not acceptable, then one must presume that these verses were added at a subsequent revision of the work. But this presumption is open to the objection that if we presume subsequent revision and addition, it is inexplicable why a Namaskriyā to Caitanya could not also have been similarly added when the work was revised. Whatever might be the explanation, there is however nothing which would throw doubt on the genuineness of these verses, with the exception of our no. 31, which is found assigned to one Madhusūdana in Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvali*. But this ascription in the composite text of the *Subhāṣitāvali* is undoubtedly overriden by the testimony of Rūpa Gosvāmin whom we can certainly take as a better authority on this point.

In the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* of Kṛṣṇadāsa, Caitanya is made to recite some other Sanskrit verses, but it is not clear if they were actually composed by him ; e.g. Ādi xvi, 82 :

अम्बुजमम्बुनि जातं क्वचिदपि न जातमम्बुजादम्बु ।
मुरभिदि तद्विपरीतं पादाम्भोजान्महानदी जाता ॥

Madhya i, 211 (which Caitanya is stated to have spoken to instruct Rūpa), but the verse occurs in the *Pañcadaśī* ix, 84 :

परव्यसनिनी नारी व्यग्रापि गृहकर्मसु ।
तमेवास्वादयत्यन्तर्नवसङ्गरसायनम् ॥

Madhya ii, 45 :

न प्रेमगन्धोऽस्ति दरोऽपि मे हरौ
क्रन्दामि सौभाग्यभरं प्रकाशितुम् ।
वंशीविलास्याननलोकनं विना
बिभर्मि यत् प्राणपतङ्गकान् वृथा ॥

The *G-Bh* puts the following half-verse in the mouth of Caitanya :

प्रासादाग्रे निवसति पुरः स्मेरवक्त्रारविन्दो
मामालोक्य स्मितसुवदना बालगोपालमूर्तिः ।

Jīva Gasvāmin in his *Bhakti-sandarbha* p. 477 cites verse no. 39 of our anthology (*śrutam apyaupaniṣadam*) as being composed by the Bhagavat who sanctified the Kali-yuga by his descent (*kali-yuga-pāvanāvatāreṇa śrī-bhagavatā*), a description which Jīva Gosvāmin also applies to the case of no. 32, which verse occurs in the *Śikṣāṣṭaka* ascribed to Caitanya, as well as in this anthology as Caitanya's.

A Sanskrit work called *Gopāla-caritra* (Mitra, *Notices* iii, no. 1118) or *Rādhā-* or *Gopī-premāmṛta* (Mitra, *Notices* ii, no. 736), written in the form of a Sanskrit Campū with prose and verse, passes current as a work by Caitanya. It has been printed at the Radharaman Press, and published at Murshidabad, 1335 B.S. = 1928 A.D., but it is curious that the name of the author in this printed edition is given as Mohinī Mohana Lāhiḍi Vidyālaṅkāra of the village Malaṅga. Three of its verses (Naukā-khaṇḍa, nos. 12, 18, 19, pp. 33 and 36), are quoted in our anthology as nos. 275, 273 and 274 respectively ; but two of these (nos. 274 and 275) are assigned by all our Mss to Manohara, (Manoraka, DA) and the remaining one (no. 273) is given anonymously as *kasyacit*, although one of our Mss (PB) would assign even this verse to Manohara. On this, as well as on other, grounds the attribution of the *Gopāla-caritra* or *Premāmṛta* to Caitanya is unjustifiable.

On the question of Caitanya's authorship, see also the present writer's article in *IHQ*, 1934.

BHAṬṬA-NĀRĀYAṆA

Author of *Veṇī-saṃhāra*, for verse no. 294 of our anthology occurs as one of the Maṅgala-ślokas of the drama.

BHAVABHŪTI

The verses cited are taken from the *Mālatī-mādhava* and the *Uttara-rāma-carita*, but they occur there of course in a different context.

BHAVĀNANDA

Apart from the Bhavānandas mentioned by Aufrecht and quoted ten times in *SKM*, a Bhavānanda-Rāya is known (*C-C*, Ādi x, 131 ; Madhya i, 130, 253, x, 49-61 ; Antya ix, 15, 103, 120, 125-146 ; *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa*, *śl.* 122) as the father of Rāmānanda-Rāya (q.v.), who mentions him in the drama *Jagannātha-vallabha*. He came to Caitanya at Puri and became converted. The commentary appears to identify our poet with this Bhavānanda-Rāya, but its authority for the identification is not known.

BHĪMABHAṬṬA

From the employment of curious grammatical forms in the only verse quoted with name of this poet in our

anthology (no. 355), it is possible that he may be identical with Bhīmabhaṭṭa author of the *Rāvaṇārjunīya* (ed. Kāvyamālā 68, Bombay 1900), which has the twofold object of illustrating Pāṇini's grammatical rules and narrating by means of Śleṣa the double story of the two great epics. The present verse, however, cannot be traced in the fragmentary printed text. In the other anthologies the verse is cited either anonymously or assigned to Bhallaṭa ; but Jahlaṇa assigns it to Bhīmabhaṭṭa or Bhīmaṭa. A poet Bhīma is also quoted in *Sbhv* 1590 (=*ŚP* 3537), 1717 (=*ŚP* 3828), 1788 =(*ŚP* 3895).

MAṄGALA

A poet Maṅgala is cited in *SKM* (i, 62, 2 ; i, 49, 5, etc.), but it is curious that one of the verses given with his name praises Hara and the other the Buddha. Maṅgala's only verse in our anthology (no. 130) is assigned to Bilvamaṅgala Śrīcaraṇa in *ŚP* 115, while *Sbhv* 37 gives it anonymously. The confusion of Maṅgala with Bilvamaṅgala is natural, but Rūpa Gosvāmin distinctly states in our anthology (no. 387) that he has studiously avoided in his selection the verses of Bilvamaṅgala and Jayadeva. An early writer on Poetics, named Maṅgala, is cited by Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* (ed. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda 1916, pp. 11, 14, 16, 20) and by Hemacandra in his own commentary on his *Kāvyānuśāsana* p. 195.

MANOHARA

The two verses, as we have already stated (see under the BHAGAVAT), of Manohara occur in *Gopāla-caritra*,

or *Premāmṛta*, of which the authorship, wrongly attributed to Caitanya, is unknown. If the verses are correctly assigned, then Manohara may have been the author of this work. Two Manoharas are known in Bengal Vaiṣṇava literature: (1) Manohara, mentioned in *C-C* (Ādi xi, 46, 52) as follower of Nityānanda and (2) Bābā Āul Manohara-Dāsa, also of the Nityānanda Śākhā, mentioned in *Prema-vilāsa*. Though identified by some, they were probably different persons. As they belong to a somewhat later period (see Jagadbandhu Bhadra, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-143; Satish Chandra Ray, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-186), they can scarcely be indentified with our poet.

MAYŪRA

Information about this author and his works, including anthology verses ascribed to him, will be found in G. P. Quackenbos, *The Sanskrit Poems of Mayūra*, New York 1917. Mayūra's verse (no. 146) quoted in our anthology is probably taken directly from *SKM* (i, 53, 1) where it is similarly assigned to Mayūra. Quackenbos's rendering of the phrase *thūthūkṛta* in this verse is somewhat vague and inadequate: "with the indecorous accompaniment of a sound as of spitting". The translator appears to be unware of the superstitious act of Indian women who, on hearing or seeing anything inauspicious, pretend to spit gently on the child to avert evil.

MĀDHAVA, MĀDHAVA-CAKRAVARTIN, MĀDHAVA-SARASVATĪ

With none of the contemporary Caitanyaite Mādhavas[1] can any of these poets be plausibly identified, nor with the poet Mādhava quoted in *SKM* (i, 48, 5 ; ii, 166, 4 ; iii, 7, 2 ; iv, 22, 2 ; iv, 35, 3 ; iv, 48, 3) and *Sbhv* 3057. Can this Mādhava-Sarasvatī be the Mādhava-Sarasvatī who is mentioned as his Guru by Madhusūdana-Sarasvatī in one of the concluding verses of his *Advaita-siddhi* ?

MĀDHAVENDRA-PURĪ

Information about this Sannyāsin will be found in our Introduction. See also *C-C*, Ādi ix, 10; Madhya iv; Antya viii.

MUKUNDA-BHAṬṬĀCĀRYA

Although the title Bhaṭṭācārya indicates that this Mukunda was a Brahman who probably belonged to Bengal, he cannot be identified with any of the Mukundas mentioned by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, Mukunda-dāsa of Śrīkhaṇḍa,

1 Mādhava (*C-C*, Ādi xi, 48 ; Madhya, xviii, 51), Mādhava or Mādhavānanda-Ghoṣa, a Kīrtanīyā (*C-C*, Ādi x, 115-118, xi, 15, 18 ; Madhya xi, 88, xiii, 73, xvi, 16 ; *C-Bh*, Antya v ; *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa*, *śl* 188), Mādhava-dāsa, of Kuliyā (*C-C*, Madhya xvi, 208), Mādhava-Paṇḍita (*C-C*, Ādi xii, 64 ; *Prema-vilāsa*), Mādhavācārya who married Nityānanda's daughter Gaṅgā (*C-C*, Ādi x, 119, xi, 52 ; *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa śl* 169). See Jagadbandhu Bhadra (*op. cit.* pp. 142-147) for an account of six Mādhavas.

brother of Narahari-dāsa Sarakāra (*C-C*, Ādi x, 78, 80; Madhya xi, 92, xv, 112-130; *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa śl.* 175), Mukunda-datta of Navadvīpa, brother of Vāsudeva-datta (*C-C*, Ādi x, 40-41 etc, numerous references throughout; *C-Bh*, Ādi vii, viii ; Madhya vii, x, xv, xvi ; Antya i, ii)[1], the two Mukundas (*C-C*, Ādi, xi, 48 and 52), Mukunda-kavirāja (*C-C*, Ādi, xi, 52) of Nityānanda Śākhā and Mukunda-Modaka (*C-C*, Antya xii, 58) were all non-Brahmans ; while Mukunda-sañjaya (*C-C*, Ādi x, 72; *C-Bh* Ādi x) and Mukundānanda Cakravartin (*C-C*, Ādi viii, 69) can also be distinguished.

YOGEŚVARA

Must be an older poet, both of whose verses cited here (nos. 152 and 386) are found in *SKM* (i, 58, 3 and i, 59, 1); but only one (no. 152) of these verses is given there with his name and the other (no. 386) anonymously. Jogeśvara is praised by Bhavānanda and Vasukalpa respectively in *SKM* v, 26, 1 and v, 26, 3, along with Bāṇa, Keśaṭa and Rājaśekhara.

RAGHUNĀTHA-DĀSA

Raghunātha-Dāsa was a direct disciple of Caitanya and was one of the six so-called Gosvāmins of

1 The three, Vāsudeva-datta, Govinda (q. v.) and Mukunda, are mentioned together by Sanātana Gosvāmin in one of the opening verses of his *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī*.

Vṛndāvana. His life presents yet another example, not rare in this period of religious revival, of the renunciation of worldly eminence and princely fortune for the sake of spiritual advancement. He was the only son of Govardhana, a rich and powerful Zemindar of Saptagrāma in the district of Hooghly, who had a princely income of twelve lakhs of rupees. But the heir to this immense fortune evinced deep religious tendencies from his boyhood, which proved disquieting to his father. Raghunātha received his lessons in Sanskrit from Balarāma Ācārya, the family priest, at at whose house he saw on one occasion the Vaiṣṇava ascetic Haridāsa, whom Caitanya had converted into the new faith. This meeting is said to have stirred up young Raghunātha's religious longings, but the fond father married him to a young and beautiful girl and kept him under strict surveillance. On the occasion of Caitanya's visit to Śāntipur on his way to Rāmakeli, Raghunātha approached Caitanya, who, however, perceiving his extreme youth bade him return home. Raghunātha's subsequent meeting with Nityānanda at Pānihāṭi stimulated his spiritual longings further, and very soon he escaped from the vigilance of his father. After an arduous journey of twelve days he reached Caitanya at Puri where he was handed over for spiritual training to Svarūpa Dāmodara. He is said to have practised extreme austerities, and Caitanya himself is said to have acknowledged their depth and sincerity. He came to Puri when he was barely nineteen, and after Caitanya's death he left at the age of thirty-five for Vṛndāvana where he joined Rūpa and Sanātana and lived near Rādhā-kuṇḍa a self-imposed life of severe asceticism till his death, which is said to have occurred at the great old age of 84. Caitanya had entrusted him with a Śālagrāma, a dark-coloured stone used as an emblem of Kṛṣṇa, which he nourished and tended with deep devotion,

daily bathing and feeding and worhipping it with elaborate service. He was the only non-Brahman disciple among the six Gosvāmins, but the honour paid to him is no less on that account. His literary works, which deal, in impassioned Sanskrit verse and prose, with the mystic-erotic aspects of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa worship, are not very extensive. They are mostly of the nature of fervent lyrical hymns, Stavas or Stotras (twenty-nine in number, of varying lengths), which have been collected together and published uuder the title *Stavāvalī*. The purely poetic merit of these Stavas may not be estimated very highly, but their evident fervour of erotic mysticism, consisting of an emotional spiritualisation of sensuous forms, gives them a rich and luscious charm and a sweet ring of passion, which bear a striking testimony to an interesting feature of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism. Raghunātha's only sustained composition is his *Mukta-carita*, a Sanskrit Kāvya of the Campū type, written in prose and occasional verses, but interspersed with interesting dialogues. The theme is Kṛṣṇa's early amours at Vṛdāvana, its object being to show the superiority of his free love for Rādhā over his wedded love for Satyabhāmā. Raghunātha probably wrote some other poetical works of a devotional character, for the three verses cited with his name in the *Padyāvalī* are not traceable in the above-mentioned works. There are also three Bengali *padas* assigned to him in the Bengali Vaiṣṇava anthology, the *Pada-kalpataru* of Vaiṣṇava-dāsa. Further details will be found in the present editor's forthcoming work on the Early History of the Caitanya Movement.

RAGHUPATI-UPĀDHYĀYA

See under TAIRABHUKTA.

RĀṄGA or VĀṄGA

The difficulty of distinguishing the two Bengali letters র and ব which are not always meticulously differentiated in old Bengali manuscripts makes the form of the name uncertain. Pischel proposes (*op. cit.* p. 10) to read Vāṅga and explains the name as an epithet " der aus Bengalen", like Autkala, Tairabhukta, Dākṣiṇātya and Gauḍīya.

RĀMACANDRA-DĀSA

Most of our MSS give the name in this form ; but some write it simply as Rāma-dāsa, while one Ms (ASC) reads Rāmacandra-sena. One Rāma-sena is mentioned in *C-C*, Ādi xi, 51. Apart from the many Rāmacandras mentioned by Aufrecht (dāsa, being a Vaiṣṇava title of humility, as well as candra, is really negligible), we have several Rāmacandras and Rāmadāsas mentioned by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja[1], but identification without further definite information is impossible.

1 Rāmadāsa Abhirāma (*C-C*, Ādi x, 116,. xi, 13-16 ; Madhya xv, 42-43), Rāma-dāsa (*C-C*, Ādi x, 113), Rāma-dāsa, son of Śivānanda (*C-C*, Ādi x, 62), Rāmacandra Kavirāja, son of Cirañjīva (q. v. ; *C-C*, Ādi xi, 51), Rāma-dāsa Vipra of Śrīraṅga (*C-C*, Madhya i, 113, 117-19), Rāma-dāsa, a Muhammadan Pathan Maulana converted by Caitanya (*C-C*, Madhya xviii, 207), Rāmadāsa-Viśvāsa who taught the *Kāvya-prakāśa* (*C-C*, Antya xiii, 91-92, 111).

RĀMĀNANDA-RĀYA

See our Introduction. The verse quoted here (no. 13) is not traceable in his *Jagannātha-vallabha-nāṭaka.* For further information about Rāmānanda, see also *C-C* (numerous references throughout, but see Madhya i, 104, 127f ; viii, 14-311 ; Antya ii, 106f, v, 34-85 etc).

RĀMĀNUJA

This poet cannot be the famous founder of the Śrī-sampradāya, who is not known as an ardent worshipper of Kṛṣṇa such as the verse (no. 116) cited indicates. The verse is given anonymously (*kasyacit*) in some of our Mss.

RUDRA

Must be Rudrabhaṭṭa, author of the *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka* (ed. Pischel, Kiel 1886 ; Kāvyamālā, pt. iii, Bombay 1899) for all the verses cited here, except one (no. 319), which however occurs in *Amaru-śataka,* are found in that work. On Rudrabhaṭṭa see Pischel's Introduction to his edition and S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics* i, pp 89f.

RŪPA-DEVA

This poet must be distinguished from Rūpa Gosvāmin, our compiler, for the verse assigned to him here (no. A29.

201) occurs in *SKM* i, 55, 1 (a much earlier anthology) with the name of Rūpadeva. Some of our Mss make the inevitable mistake of taking him as Rūpa Gosvāmin and assigning the verse to Samāhartṛ; but two of our oldest Mss (VSPA and DA) give the right indication.

LAKṢMAṆASENA-DEVA

On Lakṣmaṇasena, who is undoubtedly the well known ruler of Bengal, as a poet and patron of poets, see Pischel's monograph on the court-poets of this prince. As to his exact date there is still considerable difference of opinion, but it is admitted on all hands that he flourished and came to the throne in the second half of the 12th century A.D. The lower limit to his date is furnished by the occurrence of his verses in *SKM* which was compiled in Śaka 1127=1205 A.D. The verses of Lakṣmaṇasena which are cited in our anthology are all found assigned to him in *SKM* with the exception of one (no. 206=*SKM* i, 54, 5) which is ascribed in the earlier anthology to Keśavasena. As the verses nos. 202 and 206, having an almost common fourth *pāda*, are in the nature of *samasyā-pūraṇa ślokas* on the basis of the fourth *pāda* of the first verse of the *Gīta-govinda*, this attribution of *SKM* may not be unlikely, for Keśavasena was one of the sons of Lakṣmaṇasena (see Keśavasena's Idilpur Copper-plate grant in *JASB*, New Series, x, pp. 99-104). Other verses of Keśavasena occur in *SKM* (i, 65, 2; i, 72, 5; iii, 52, 3 and 4). Only one verse with Lakṣmaṇasena's name is found in *ŚP* (no. 923). See Pischel, *op. cit*, p. 12.

LAKṢMĪDHARA

This author must be identical with Lakṣmīdhara, author of *Bhagavan-nāma-kaumudī*, in which all the four verses cited in our anthology (nos. 16, 29, 33, 34) occur. As most of the verses assigned to Lakṣmīdhara in other anthologies (see *KVS*, pp. 96-97) are secularly erotic in character, our poet should be distinguished from the authors of these verses. Aufrecht notes (i, p. 538) that our Lakṣmīdhara was the son of Viṭṭhalācārya and grandson of Nṛsiṃhācārya, who was the son of Rāmacandrācārya. He was a pupil of Anantānanda Raghunātha-yati and Śrī-kṛṣṇa-sarasvatī.

VANAMĀLIN

As Vanamālin's verse no. 136 is also quoted with his name in *SKM* (i, 51, 5), he is an older poet and not a contemporary. The *SKM* iv, 31, 5 gives another verse of this poet. There is a Bhaṭṭa Vanamālin who wrote a commentary, entitled *Bhakta-vallabhā*, on *Sumaṅgala-stotra* attributed to Bilvamaṅgala (Eggeling, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the India Office Library*, vii, p. 1474-75, no. 3907/564).

VĀṆĪVILĀSA

Probably a contemporary author, for Sanātana Gosvāmin refers to one 'upadeśaka' Vāṇīvilāsa in his preliminary Namaskriyā to his *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī*. The term

upadeśaka might mean that he was one of Sanātana's instructors. But he is not known otherwise from Caitanya's biographies which furnish information about the contemporaries and disciples of Caitanya.

VĀSUDEVA SĀRVABHAUMA BHAṬṬĀCĀRYA

See Introduction. A Navadvīpa scholar, born about the middle of the 15th century, who is said by Jayānanda to have been driven from Navadvīpa by Muhammadan persecution and to have settled at Puri, where he appears to have passed the closing years of his life under the patronage of Gajapati Pratāparudra of Orissa. His father Maheśvara Viśārada, whom Vāsudeva mentions reverentially at the close of his own commentary on Lakṣmīdhara's *Advaita-makaranda*, appears to have been a learned scholar, to whom the *Pratyakṣa-maṇi-māheśvarī* (on the *Tattva-cintāmaṇi*) is ascribed by Gopinath Kaviraj (*Sarasvatī Bhavana Studies* iv, p. 60); but the term of Vāsudeva's reference (*vedānta-vidyāmaya*) shows that Maheśvara was also a Vedāntist. Vāsudeva seems to have acquired a sound mediaeval scholarship under the instruction of his learned father, but there is a legend that Vāsudeva went to Mithila to study Nyāya at the school established there by Pakṣadhara Miśra. As his teachers in Mithila would not permit any outsider to copy out their famous manuscripts on Nyāya, Vāsudeva is said to have committed the entire *Tattva-cintāmaṇi* and other works to memory and brought them in this manner to Navadvīpa, where was thus transferred the whole study of Navya Nyāya. His fame, however, was soon eclipsed by that of his more distinguished pupil Raghunātha Śiromaṇi. But this legend of exodus to Mithila

and transference of the Nyāya school from Mithila to Bengal is also told in connexion with Raghunātha Śiromaṇi ; and there is nothing to show that Raghunātha was in fact a pupil of Vāsudeva. The fact that even Vāsudeva's father Maheśvara, before him, knew the *Tattva-cintāmaṇi* and wrote a commentary on it makes this legend still more unreliable. Vāsudeva was perhaps more of a Vedāntist than a Naiyāyika, as his learned commentary on Lakṣmīdhara's work (written at Puri) mentioned above indicates ; and the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* represents him chiefly as teaching Vedānta. A work on Nyāya, however, by Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, entitled *Samāsavāda*, is mentioned by Aufrecht i, 698a. Tradition ascribes to him a *Sārvabhauma-nirukti*, of which nothing is known, but which was probably a glossorial commentary on the *Tattva-cintāmaṇi*. Gopinath Kaviraj (*op. cit.* p. 63) informs us, however, that Vāsudeva's commentary on the *Tattva-cintāmaṇi*, called *Sārāvalī*, is available only in fragments ; and he speaks also of a *Tattva-dīpikā* by Vāsudeva about which, however, he supplies no information. Tradition delights to make a great academic figure out of Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, but there is hardly any foundation for the allegation that Caitanya was his pupil ; for in the accounts we have of Caitanya's early life there is no reference made to Vāsudeva's teaching Caitanya, whom the great scholar probably met for the first time at Puri and whose attitude there was hardly that of a pupil to his teacher. There are different versions of the story of Caitanya's first meeting with Vāsudeva at Puri and of Vāsudeva's conversion, about the details of which the reader is referred to the present editor's forthcoming work on Caitanyaism and the Caitanya movement. Jayānanda, Vṛndāvana-dāsa and others ascribe some Bengali biographical or eulogistic works (or verses) on Caitanya to

Vāsudeva, among which mention is made of a *Caitanyāṣṭaka*, *Caitanya-śata-śloka* and *Caitanya-sahasra-nāma*. Sanātana Gosvāmin in his own commentary on his *Bṛhad-bhāgavatāmṛta* (on i, 3) cites one such eulogistic verse by Vāsudeva, which is also quoted and ascribed to Vāsudeva by Ānandin in his commentary on Prabodhānanda's *Caitanya-candrāmṛta* (*śl.* 41): कालान्नष्टं भक्तियोगं निजं यः प्रादुष्कर्तुं कृष्णाचैतन्यनामा । आविर्भूतस्तस्य पादारविन्दे गाढं गाढं लीयतां चित्तभृङ्गः ॥ In the same context Ānandin cites another verse of Vāsudeva: वैराग्यविद्यानिजभक्तियोगशिक्षार्थमेकः पुरुषः पुराणः । श्रीकृष्णाचैतन्यशरीरधारी कृपाम्बुधिर्यस्तमहं प्रपद्ये ॥ These two verses Ānandin gives elsewhere (on *śl.* 143) as quotations from the *Caitanyāṣṭaka* of Vāsudeva, of which work mention is made also by Jayānanda; and Kavikarṇapūra in his drama *Caitanya-candrodaya* puts these two verses in a letter which he makes Vāsudeva write and send to Caitanya. Ānandin, no doubt, knew this dramatic version of Caitanya's life, which he quotes elsewhere in his commentary (*śl.* 62), but as Kavikarṇapūra does not mention any *Caitanyāṣṭaka* in this connexion, it is probable that Ānandin took these two verses from Sārvabhauma's work of that name. Vṛndāvana-dāsa also places these two verses in Sārvabhauma's mouth (Antya iii), but he does not indicate his source; while Kṛṣṇadāsa (Madhya vi, 248-56) obviously adopts and reproduces Kavikarṇapūra's story, along with these verses. For Vāsudeva see also *C-C*, Ādi x, 130; Madhya vi; vii, 41-74; ix, 343-357; x, xi, 3-13, 41-133 etc.; also see Kavikarṇapūra's *Caitanya-candrodaya-nāṭaka*, in which Vāsudeva figures as an important personage; more or less similar accounts will be found in the other biographies of Caitanya, especially in that by Jayānanda. On Vāsudeva's authorship of other devotional verses see our article 'Some Bengali Vaiṣṇava Works in Sanskrit' in *Indian Culture*, July 1934, pp. 22-29.

VIŚVANĀTHA

This poet appears to be identical with Viśvanātha, author of *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, in which no. 219 cited here with his name is given as his own (*yathā mama*). On Viśvanātha and his date see S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics*, i, pp. 233f; also Kane's Introduction to his edition of *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* (Bombay 1910). Viśvanātha's work is referred to by Rūpa Gosvāmin and quoted anonymously also in his *Nāṭaka-candrikā* (opening verses) and *Bhakti-rasāmṛta* (p. 815=*S.D.* iii, 251).

VIṢṆUPURĪ

See Introduction. The verses (no. 9 and 10) cited with his name cannot be traced in his *Bhāgavata-bhakti-ratnāvalī*. Reference to him occurs in *C-C*, Ādi ix, 14 as one of the early inspirers of the Bhakti movement in Bengal. An edition of Viṣṇupurī's *Bhakti-ratnāvalī* with English translation has been published in the Sacred Books of the Hindus Series, Allahabad 1912. There are good MSS of this work in the Dacca University Mss collection; but Mss are also noticed in Aufrecht's *Bodleian Catalogue* no. 90 and in his *Florentine Manuscripts* no. 236, as well as in Rajendralala Mitra's *Notices*, i. p. 240, and in Eggeling's *India Office Catalogue*, vi, pp. 1272-73. Aufrecht (*Florentine Manuscripts*, p. 76) states that the work was composed at Benares in 1634 A. D. The source of his information is not known, but the editor of the Allahabad edition informs us that this date is given

in a footnote to a Calcutta edition of the work. But this date is impossible, for it militates not only against the date 1595 A. D. (=Saṃvat 1652) of the copying of the India Office Manuscript (Eggeling, *loc. cit.*), but also against the Bengal tradition that Viṣṇupurī, who is mentioned by Kavikarṇapūra as a predecessor, flourished at a period much earlier than that of Caitanya. This would dispose of the story of the meeting of Viṣṇupurī and Caitanya, mentioned in the introduction to the Allahabad edition and in Carpenter's *Theism in Mediaeval India* (London, 1926) p. 422.

VĪRA-SARASVATĪ

Identical with the poet of the same name quoted with the same verse (no. 368) in *SKM* i, 62, 5.

ŚAṄKARA

A Śaṅkara-kavi and Śaṅkara are cited in *ŚP* (1258, 1259) and *SKM* (Introduction, Lahore edition, p. 123). A Śaṅkara-Paṇḍita, brother of Dāmodara-Paṇḍita (see under Dāmodara) appears (*C-C*, Ādi x, 33; Madhya i, 252, x 127, xi 85 and 146-8 etc.; Antya xix, 67-74 etc. *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa* *śl* 157) as a disciple and companion of Caitanya at Puri. Another Śaṅkara of the Nityānanda Śākhā is mentioned in *C-C*, Ādi xi, 52. But there is nothing which would justify identification with our Śaṅkara.

ŚAMBHU

This Śambhu cannot be, as Aufrecht notes (i, p. 636), the Kashmirian author of the *Rājendra-karṇapūra* (Kāvyamālā, pt. i, Bombay 1886) and *Anyokti-muktālatā* (Kāvyamālā, pt. ii, Bombay 1886), who is also the poet quoted extensively in *Sbhv*; for the verses assigned to him in our anthology cannot be traced in these poems but are assigned variously in different anthologies.

ŚARAṆA

As the verses nos. 369 and 370 occur also as Śaraṇa's in *SKM* (i, 61, 2 and 3) we should take the two poets as identical. But *SKM* also quotes Śaraṇadeva (i, 69, 5; ii, 135, 2; iii, 2, 5) and Cirantana-śaraṇa (iv, 1, 2), who may or may not be identical. There is nothing to prevent the proposed identification of our Śaraṇa with the Śaraṇa referred to by Jayadeva (*Gīta-govinda* i, 4) as a contemporary poet, who was *ślāghyo durūha-drute*. Pischel (*op. cit.*, p. 29) explains the sense of this passage as indicating that Śaraṇa, in the opinion of Jayadeva, was "rühmenswert in der schwerverständlichen Schnelldichtung". Śaraṇa was skilful as a *druta-kavi*, who could compose verses quickly or *ex tempore*, as well as a poet who delighted in being recondite and difficult. On the ground chiefly of this testimony of reconditeness, an attempt has been made to identify him with Śaraṇa author of the *Durghaṭa-vṛtti* (ed. Trivandrum, 1909). There are no chronological difficulties, as the *Durghaṭa-vṛtti* is expressly dated in Śaka 1095=1173 A.D. But, apart

from the fact that there is no evidence to justify the identification, it appears from the Namaskriyā verses (in honour of Sarvajña=the Buddha) of the *Durghaṭa-vṛtti* that its author was probably a Buddhist, whose work was revised by one Śrī-sarvarakṣita.

ŚĀNTIKARA or ŚĀNTIKA

A poet named Śāntyākara is quoted in *SKM* (i, 75, 5 ; ii, 100, 5 ; ii, 101, 5 ; iii, 30, 3).

ŚUBHĀṄKA, ŚUBHĀṄGA, ŚUBHĀṄKARA or ŚUBHĀṄKURA

All the three verses, nos. 4, 252 and 267, of this poet in our anthology occur in *SKM* and are assigned (with the exception of no. 267, which is given anonymously as *kasyacit*) to this poet. On the various forms of the name, see Thomas *op. cit.* pp. 113-4. As Śubhāṅga, or Śubhāṅka or Śubhaṅkara is quoted in *KVS*, he must be a fairly old poet.

ŚRĪKARA-ĀCĀRYA

If this poet is identical with Śrīkara quoted in *SKM* (ii, 136, 4 ; iii, 23, 2), then his date is earlier, and he must be distinguished from the contemporary follower of Caitanya, named Śrīkara, mentioned in *C-C*, Ādi x, 111.

ŚRĪGARBHA-KAVĪNDRA

A Śrīgarbha is mentioned as a notable disciple of Caitanya in *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa* *śl.* 103. Jayānanda (*Caitanya-maṅgala*, p. 51) calls him Rāja-paṇḍita Śrīgarbha; but this epithet Rāja-paṇḍita is also applied (p. 51) to Sanātana, Caitanya's father-in-law.

ŚRĪDHARA-SVĀMIN

Must be the well known author of the commentary *Bhāvārtha-dīpikā* on the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*. See Introduction.

ŚRĪMAT

A Śrīmat-paṇḍita is mentioned as a contemporary and disciple of Caitanya (*C-C*, Ādi x, 37 ; Madhya x, 83 ; *C-Bh*, xviii), who was one of the members of the Kīrtana party at Navadvīpa and later on came to Puri (*C-C*, Madhya xi, 89, xiii, 39 ; Antya x, 9 and 122). He must be distinguished from Śrīmat-Sena (*C-C*, Ādi x, 52 ; Antya x, 9 and 122), who also appears to have been a native of Navadvīpa.

ŚRĪMAT PRABHU

See under PRABHU above.

ŚRĪ-VAIṢṆAVA

See under DĀKṢIṆĀTYA above.

ṢAṢṬHĪDĀSA or ṢAṢṬHĪVARA-DĀSA

A Ṣaṣṭhīvara is mentioned as a Kīrtanīyā in the list of contemporary disciples of Caitanya in *C-C*, Ādi x, 109.

SAÑJAYA-KAVIŚEKHARA

See under KAVIŚEKHARA.

SAMĀHARTṚ

The compiler, who is, of course, Rūpa Gosvāmin. For informations about him see our Introduction. It is worthy of note that of the thirty-four of his own verses quoted in our anthology none occurs in his three dramas, which are however extensively quoted in his *Nāṭaka-candrikā* and in his two works on the Vaiṣṇava Rasa-śāstra. Some of his Stotras, which were probably written earlier, are laid under contribution for some of the quotations in our anthology. The other verses cannot be traced in his existing works.

SARVAJÑA

One Sarvajña, prince of Karṇāṭa, with the surname Jagadguru, was probably an ancestor of Rūpa Gosvāmin himself. This, however, is a title which is found adopted by many a writer.

SARVĀNANDA

One of the verses (no. 151) attributed in our anthology to Sarvānanda is given (with slight differences of reading) as Śatānanda's in *SKM* (i, 52, 2) and is found unassigned in *KVS* (no. 35).

SĀRAṄGA

The verse (no. 3) assigned to Sāraṅga is an old and well known verse, which is given anonymously in *KVS* 31 and in various works on Alaṃkāra, but which is assigned to Bhāgavata Amṛtadatta in *Sbhv* 43 (see Peterson's ed. pp. 3-4) and in Jahlaṇa ii, 64. Hence Sāraṅga is probably an old poet and has nothing to do with Sāraṅga-Dāsa or -Ṭhākura of Navadvīpa, mentioned in *C-C*, Ādi x, 113 and *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa*, *śl.* 172.

SĀRVABHAUMA-BHAṬṬĀCĀRYA

This author must be Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya (q. v.). Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja refers to him throughout by this title rather than by his name Vāsudeva ;

and this mode of citation by his title only is also found to refer to Vāsudeva in the works of Rūpa, Sanātana, Ānandin and others, as well as in the Bengali Vaiṣṇava works.

SUBANDHU

Author of the *Vāsavadattā*, in which the verse quoted (no. 266) occurs as one of the preliminary verses. On Subandhu, see Introduction to Gray's ed. of the *Vāsavadattā*.

SŪRYADĀSA

One Sūrya is mentioned in the list of Nityānanda Śākhā in *C-C*, Ādi xi, 48 ; while Sūryadāsa, with the surname Sārkhel, is more well known as the father-in-law of Nityānanda, who married his two daughters Vasudhā and Jāhnavī (*C-C*, Ādi xi, 25 ; *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa*, *śl.* 65). The *Bhakti-ratnākara* (ch. xii) tells us that Sūryadāsa Sārkhel belonged to Śāligrāma near Navadvīpa and was an officer of the Sultan of Gauḍa. The surname Sarkhel (Persian) was apparently bestowed on him as a title of honour.

SOHNOKA, SĀHNOKA or SĀHLOKA

In different anthologies the same name probably also occurs as Sehnoka, Sonnoka, Sāhnika, Solūka, Solloka, Sehlūka, Sehloka, Sohloka. He is quoted in *KVS* (see Thomas *op. cit.* p. 116) and in *SKM* (ed. Lahore, Introd. p. 135).

HANŪMAT

The verse quoted (no. 111) does not occur in the *Hanūman-nāṭaka* or *Mahānāṭaka* in either of the recensions. This verse appears to support the peculiar position of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism that service (Dāsya) is preferrable to emancipation (Mukti); and as such it is probably the work of some later Vaiṣṇava writer. Verses attributed to Hanūmat occur also in the *ŚP* (10 quotations, nos. 83, 90, 123-125, 128, 133, 1248, 3418 and 4066), but of these only two (nos. 90 and no. 1248) can be traced in the existing recensions of the *Mahānāṭaka* (see *IHQ*, 1931, p. 542). In *Sml*, 14 verses of Hanūmat are given ; of these only two (*pātuṃ trīṇi jaganti* and *asti* [v.l. *pātu*] *śrī-stana-patra-bhaṅga-makarī*) occur in the Bengal recension of the *Mahānāṭaka* as vi, 63 and i, 9 respectively. But the latter verse is ascribed to Nagna in *SKM*, i, 39, 2. But some verses assigned to Hanūmat in *Sml* are ascribed to other poets or cited anonymously in other anthologies : e.g. the verse *jīyāsuḥ śakulākṛter bhagavataḥ* assigned to Hanūmat in *Sml* is cited anonymously in *ŚP* 81 and attributed to Rājaśekhara in *KVS* 25; but it occurs in *Khaṇḍa-praśasti* which is sometimes ascribed by tradition to Hanūmat. The verse *atyuccāḥ paritaḥ* assigned in *Sml* to Hanūmat is credited to Cittapa or Chittapa in *SKM* and occurs anonymously in *Kāvya-prakāśa*, *Rasa-gaṅgādhara* and other Alaṃkāra works. In Jhalakikar's edition of the *Kāvya-prakāśa*, the verse is attributed, on the authority of the *Dīpikā* commentary of Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, to a poet named Pañcākṣarī who is said to have addressed it to king Bhoja. In *SKM*, again, 11 quotations from Hanūmat occur, but of these also only two (*kūrmaḥ pādo'sya* iii, 22, 1, and *yad bhagnaṃ dhanur īśvarasya* v, 71, 5) occur

in both the Western and Bengal recensions of the *Mahā-nāṭaka*. Two of the *SKM* verses however (*kiṃ chatram* and *ābālyādhigame*) are given to Hanūmat also in *Sml*. It is curious that one of the *SKM* verses *dhārā-nipāta-rava* is cited anonymously in *KVS* 114. Is it possible that there was a poet named Hanūmat whose verses, cited in the anthologies, were mixed up with those of the *Mahānāṭaka* and the *Khaṇḍa-praśasti* ?

HARA

Three of the verses assigned to Hara (no. 5, 205, 241, 379) are attributed to other poets in other anthologies. Thus *SKM* (i, 57, 3 and i, 55, 5) assigns nos. 5 and 205 to Umāpatidhara and Ācārya-Gopīka respectively ; and no. 241 is given anonymously in *ŚP* 79.

HARI

Of the two verses assigned to this poet, one (no. 377) is given in *Sbhv* (no. 1049) as *dākṣiṇātyasya kasyacit*.

HARIDĀSA

Jagadbandhu Bhadra (*op. cit.*, pp. 186-88) has given an account of seven Haridāsas in Bengal Vaiṣṇava literature. Of these, the more well known are (1) and (2) Haridāsa Senior (Baḍa) and Junior (Choṭa) who were

Kīrtanīyās (*C-C* Ādi x, 147, Madhya x, 149), (3) Haridāsa-Ṭhākura (Ādi x, 43-46 and 126 etc.), (4) Haridāsa-Paṇḍita (Ādi viii, 54-60), disciple of Ananta-Ācārya, who was a disciple of Gadādhara-Paṇḍita ; he was the Sevādhyakṣa of the temple of Govindaji at Vṛndāvana, (5) Haridāsa-Brahmacārin (*C-C*, Ādi, xii 62 and 79). The Laghu-Haridāsa, not mentioned by Jagadbandhu Bhadra but referred to in *C-C*, Madhya xviii, 52 is probably different from Choṭa-Haridāsa. There is no evidence to identify our Haridāsa with any one of these. For other Haridāsas in Sanskrit literature see Aufrecht *Catalogus* i, p. 757

HARIBHAṬṬA

Apart from the poet Haribhaṭṭa quoted in *Sbhv* (nos. 245, 269, 536, 2160, 2936, 2937, 3369), there is a contemporary Haribhaṭṭa who came to Caitanya at Puri (*C-C*, Madhya xi, 87 and 159). But of the two verses (nos. 328 and 335) assigned to Haribhaṭṭa in our anthology, one (no. 335) is old and is found attributed to Ākāśapoli in *ŚP* (no. 3428) and in Jahlaṇa (xliii, 32), and to *dākṣiṇātyasya kasyacit* in *Sbhv* (no. 1355).

HARIHARA

See Aufrecht *Catalogus* i, p. 762-3. There is a poet Harihara quoted in *ŚP* (nos. 77, 183 Hariharadeva, 559, 3494, 3705, 3760). But two of the verses assigned to Harihara (nos. 187 and 284) in our anthology are attributed to Bihlaṇa and Vākpati or Vākpatirāja in *SP* (no. 3475) and *KVS* 20 (=*SKM* i, 56, 1) respectively. To Harihara is also assigned our nos. 196 and 251 in *ŚP* (3494 and 77) and nos. 194 and 196 in *Sml*.



INDICES



Alphabetical Verse-Index
with the names of authors and metres

N.B. References are to the number of the verses. Extra verses in the footnotes are also included.

Alphabetical Index of Additional Verses given in the footnotes from different manuscripts

Alphabetical Index of Additional Verses added after the colophon in some Mss

Alphabetical Author-Index with Verses assigned

N.B. References are to the number of verses, and honorific titles to names are omitted.

34,

Index of Anonymous or Unassigned Verses

a. Anonymous

(cited with कस्यचित् or केषाञ्चित्)

N.B. References are by number of verses.

b. Unassigned
(but probably composed by the compiler himself)

c. Additional Unassigned Verses
noted in the footnotes as given in some Mss

Alphabetical Index of Authors (not included in our Index of Authors) to whom verses occurring in our Anthology are attributed in other Works

N.B. The figures indicate the number of verses in our Anthology, and the names after the figures are those of works in which the verses are so attributed.

Alphabetical Index of Metres

N.B. The figures refer to the number of verses. Extra verses in the footnotes are not included.



List of Works (with Abbreviated Titles) cited in the Introduction and Notes

C-C=Caitanya-caritāmṛta of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja. Our references are to the text published by the Gauḍīya Mādhva Maṭha (Calcutta 1927) in which the verses in each chapter are consecutively numbered to facilitate reference.

C-Bh=Caitanya-bhāgavata of Vṛndāvana-dāsa, ed. Amrita Bazar Patrika Office, Calcutta 1926.

KVS=Kavīndra-vacana-samuccaya, ed. F. W. Thomas. Bibl. Ind. 1912.

Sbhv=Subhāṣitāvali of Vallabhadeva, ed. P. Peterson. Bombay 1886.

ŚP=Śārṅgadhara-paddhati, ed. P. Peterson. Bombay 1888.

SKM=Sadukti-karṇāmṛta of Śrīdhara-dāsa, ed. Rāmāvatāra Śarmā. Bibl. Ind. 1912-21 (two fasc. only); ed. Rāmāvatāra Śarmā, with introduction by Haradatta Śarmā, Panjab Sanskrit Series: Lahore 1933. As the latter complete text was not available till 152 verses of our anthology were already in print, references by page have been given to the former edition (sometimes with enclosed references to the sections and verses as in Thomas, Introd. to *KVS*); but after verse no. 152 references have been given to the Lahore edition. But see Additions and Corrections below, which give references to the Lahore edition for verses 1-152.

Sml=Sūkti-muktāvalī of Jahlaṇa. Up to verse no. 150 references are given as indexed in Bhandarkar's notice of the work in his ***Report on the Search of***

Sanskrit Manuscripts for 1887-91, Bombay 1892. After verse 150 was printed off, the advance file-copy of the edition of the work, which is to be published in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, was available through the courtesy of the general editor of the Series, and references are given as in this edition. But see Additions and Corrections below for references to the Gaekwad edition for verses 1-150.

SRBh = Subhāṣita-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra, compiled and edited by K. P. Parab and V. L. Śāstrī, 5th Ed. Bombay 1911.

References to Subhāṣita-hārāvali are given as in Thomas, *op. cit.*

Of the following Caitanyaite Vaiṣṇava works cited, references have been given to the respective texts printed by the Radharaman Press, Berhampore, and published at Murshidabad: Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu (1924), Stava-mālā (2nd Ed. 1912), Dāna-keli-kaumudī of Rūpa Gosvāmin (2nd Ed. 1896), Hari-bhakti-vilāsa of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa (2nd ed. 1921), Gaura-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā of Kavikarṇapūra (1922), Bhakti-ratnākara of Narahari Cakravartin (1925).

Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi of Rūpa Gosvāmin, ed. Kāvyamālā 95 (Nirnay Sagar Press), Bombay 1913.

Bhakti-sandarbha of Jīva Gosvāmin, ed. Śyāmalāla Gosvāmī. Calcutta 1890.

Bhagavan-nāma-kaumudī of Lakṣmīdhara (Acyuta Granthamālā), Benares, Saṃvat 1984.

Caitanya-maṅgala of Jayānanda, ed. Nagendra Nath Vasu and Kālidāsa Nātha. Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad: Calcutta 1905.

Of the Kāvya and Alaṃkāra texts cited, references are given to the following editions, except where otherwise indicated:

Amaru-śataka, ed. Simon, Kiel 1893, and ed. Kāvyamālā 18, Bombay 1916.

Āryā-saptaśatī of Govardhana, ed. Somanātha Śarmā. Dacca, Saṃvat 1921, and ed. Kāvyamālā 1, Bombay 1895.

Mahānāṭaka (i) Dāmodara's recension, ed. Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay 1909 and (ii) Madhusūdana's recension, ed. Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta 1890.

Kāvya-prakāśa of Mammaṭa, ed. V. Jhalakikara. 3rd ed. Bombay 1917.

Kāvyānuśāsana of Hemacandra, ed. Kāvyamālā 70, Bombay 1901.

Kāvyānuśāsana, with Alaṃkāra-tilaka, of Vāgbhaṭa, ed. Kāvyamālā 43, Bombay 1915.

Daśarūpaka, ed. Nirnay Sagar Press, Bombay 1917.

Dhvanyāloka, with Abhinavagupta's Locana, ed. Kāvyamālā 25, Bombay 1911.

Rasa-gaṅgādhara of Jagannātha, ed. Kāvyamālā 12, Bombay 1916.

Rasārṇava-sudhākara of Śiṅgabhūpāla, ed. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. Trivandrum 1916.

Vakrokti-jīvita of Kuntaka, ed. S. K. De. 2nd ed. Calcutta 1928.

Śṛṅgāra-tilaka of Rudrabhaṭṭa, ed. Pischel. Kiel 1886.

Sāhitya-kaumudī of Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa, ed Kāvyamālā 63, Bombay 1897.

Sāhitya-darpaṇa of Viśvanātha, ed. Durgāprāsada Dviveda. Bombay 1915.

Of other works bibliographical references are given along with citations. Other abbreviations employed and citations made are obvious and well known enough to require separate mention.

Additions and Corrections

Some letters and vowel-signs in the Sanskrit text have partially or entirely broken down in printing. As these can be corrected without difficulty, they are not listed here. The following more serious errors and misprints in the Sanskrit text, however, require correction :

Page and line	For	Read
2, 7	व्रजवधु	व्रजवधू
3, 7	धुलीलवः	धूलीलवः
5, 4	त्वङ्घ्रि	त्वदङ्घ्रि
10, 8	दग्ध्रा	दग्ध्वा
16, 9	श्रोगोविन्द	श्रीगोविन्द
27, 4	स्वविपटै०	स्वविटपै०
52, 7	कुर्चं	कूर्चं
56, 2	क्क शिखेति	क्क च शिखेति
65, 6	गोयुद्धगीति०	गोयुद्धगीती०
74, 14	स्वामि	स्वामी
78, 1	तत्सव	तत्सर्वं
97, 1	घायम्	वाक्यम्
118, 9	न्यञ्चचञ्चदुञ्चद्	न्यञ्चचञ्चदुदञ्चद्
136, 2	पस्यन्ती	पश्यन्ति

On p. 24, l. 10 for लोष्ट्रवत् add the *v.l.* लोष्टवत् in the notes, as found in some Mss.

The page-numbering for the section on Description of Manuscripts have been printed wrongly throughout. It should be continuously cxxii to cxlv.

Some other misprints or errors may have escaped detection ; but it is hoped that they are not serious enough to cause inconvenience.

As the Lahore edition of the complete text of SKM, as well as the Baroda edition of *Sml*, was not available till verse no. 152 of our text was printed off, references to these editions, up to this verse, could not be given (see above p. 291-92). They are supplied below, with ***variae lectiones*:**

Verse	*SKM* (assigned as in text)
4	i, 59, 3
	(*v.l.* लीलोपधानानि)
5	i, 57, 3
135	i, 51, 4
	(*v.l.* दृशोद्द शावलिकमलिके)
136	i, 51, 5
146	i, 53, 1
147	i, 53, 2
148	i, 52, 4
149	i, 52, 1
151	i, 52, 2
152	i, 58, 3
	(*v.l.* वलयितलगुडो मूर्ध्नि ; ०समररसाबद्ध०)

Verse	*Sml*
3	ii, 64 (भागवतामृतदत्तस्य)
	(*v.l.* लावण्यस्य मज्ञा०)
6	cxii, 1 (unassigned)
	(*v.l.* मेरुमूर्त्क्षणातां ; वज्रं तृणाक्षीवताम् ; तस्मै नमः कर्मणे)
139	i, 42 (दीपकस्य)
	(*v.l.* पुलकपिञ्जरो)
150	ii, 91 (वसुन्धरस्य)
	(*v.l.* विहरतस्तस्याहरद्रावणः ; नः for वः)

The following verses of our text have been cited and translated by Aufrecht :

Verse	Aufrecht
135	*ZDMG*, xxxvi, p. 533 (*v.l.* हयोर्दशावलिकमलिके)
150	*ZDMG*, xxvii, p. 83 (*v.l.* कृष्णोनेति)

Some verses of our text occur in the second section of the *Śrī-kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta* (ed. with the Suvarṇacaṣaka commentary of Pāpayallaya Sūri, Śrī-Vāṇī-vilāsa Press, Srirangam, no date ; these have been indexed above p. 286.

Add in the Verse-Index on p. 252 after line 10 :

तेभ्यो नमोऽस्तु भव० (औत्कलस्य) 54 (वसन्ततिलक)